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KENTUCKY
on *the* MARCH

KENTUCKY *on the* MARCH

BY HARRY W. SCHACTER

PRESIDENT, COMMITTEE FOR KENTUCKY

FOREWORD BY MARK F. ETHRIDGE

PUBLISHER, LOUISVILLE *Courier Journal*

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KENTUCKY ON THE MARCH

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FIRST EDITION

C-Y

This book
is affectionately dedicated
to my children
ROBERT and MARY
and to all other Kentucky children
in the hope that the sun may shine brighter
in their Old Kentucky Home

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FOREWORD

WHEN I was a reporter on the New York Sun twenty-five years ago, I was assigned to do a series of articles on the renaissance of North Carolina. From one of the most backward states of the Union, North Carolina was emerging as one of the most progressive, as that state which was succeeding the Wisconsin of the Lafollettes in all sorts of progressive undertakings.

It was to me, if not to readers of the Sun, a fascinating study. What actually happened was that once the conservative and slow-moving Scotch and Scotch-Irish had been awakened to the conditions which made them backward statistically, they began to do something about it. Page, the publicist, wrote and talked about the "real forgotten man"; McIver, the educator, went from Nag's Head to the Great Smokies with his flaming challenge to the people of his state to do more about educating their young; and Aycock, the great governor, translated an awakened conscience and consciousness into political action.

Out of it all, and out of the work of the successors to Page, McIver, and Aycock, came a feverish Tar Heel population that set about bonding themselves for roads at a rate that must have appalled some of the more timid Scots; that built, if not the best, certainly one of the best and most enlightened state universities in the country; that instituted political reforms which put North Carolina in the forefront of all Southern states in the march away from the past. Carolinians show signs every now and then of getting weary in their well-doing and of having a

nostalgia for their rut, but on the whole they have been progressive for half a century.

As an editor in Georgia, I watched a somewhat similar awakening. Led by the Citizens Fact-Finding Committee, the Scotch-Irish of Georgia began to study themselves and to dislike what they found. Over a period of years, public consciousness was awakened. Georgia was fortunate in that there was a man available to take the challenge. It was Ellis Arnall. He was able to rewrite the state constitution and to institute half a hundred reforms in such short order that it began to appear that Georgia was destined to take over from North Carolina. Although the Arnall progressive movement has been engulfed by a combination of a county-unit political system—the most retrogressive in the country—civil rights issues which overshadowed others, and the determination of special interests to protect the status quo even if it keeps Georgia backward, the movement is not dead. It will live again, but when it is revived it will perhaps be Kentucky which has taken the lead away from North Carolina.

When Harry W. Schacter says, in this book, that I told him the best thing the Committee for Kentucky could do was to create "a moral climate in which things could happen," it was the experience of North Carolina and of the Georgia which *threw Arnall to the top of the heap that I had in mind*. A governor can do little unless there is pressure from underneath for him to do it. Indeed, few public men are so bold as to walk forward faster than their constituencies. Even Mr. Roosevelt liked to hear the voice of the people, and those who dealt with him most astutely sometimes organized the voice so that he could hear it.

That is what Harry W. Schacter and his colleagues have done with the Committee for Kentucky. In all backward states—and Kentucky, with all her charm, is among them—one of the central facts about the political life is that there is always a great

host of special-interest lobbyists. Some of them may be good and their work may contribute to the general good, as in the case of those interests which lobby for health, education, and welfare measures, but they are usually overborne by those who know better what they want: either special favors or a lower tax rate.

In such a circumstance no better purpose can be served than to give all the people of the state a complete picture of the society in which they live. Nothing so directly strikes at lethargy; nothing so quickly bears home the economic waste involved in poor education, a high disease rate, and failure to protect natural resources; nothing so quickly flicks the pride and stimulates imagination and action. That purpose the Committee for Kentucky has served admirably with its fourteen reports. Kentuckians have a picture of the way they live. Some of them get angry at the picture, but others do something about it. Here not one man, like Aycock or Arnall, has been in the van, but many men. Kentuckians have been willing to tax themselves as they never have before. Indeed, one of the phenomenons I have witnessed in my life was the visit of a delegation including many businessmen to the city hall in Louisville to protest a reduction in the tax rate.

Harry W. Schacter modestly makes no claim to direct achievement by the Committee for Kentucky. Certainly he could have claimed more for it than he has. But, through the legislature and through private groups acting upon information which the Committee brought to light, a great many things have happened. We have in Kentucky started upon a progressive legislative program. We do have a greater awareness of our needs than ever before, and we have more agencies working to do something about them. We do have major institutional and agricultural programs. We do have finally a state conservation and development program under an able Kentuckian. We have

a new state Chamber of Commerce to exploit the possibilities of what we have. We are more conscious of the diseases that scourge us and of the necessity for extending medical care. The state itself and private physicians have combined to provide a scholarship fund for boys who will go to the rural areas to practice. There are hundreds of evidences that Kentuckians too have awakened from their long sleep. For contributing mightily to that, the Committee for Kentucky can take much credit.

Kentucky is indeed on the march. We do not yet have an Aycock. Unfortunately, with the cost of goods and services inflated as they are, we have not been able to realize fully the benefits for which we have been so willing to tax ourselves. Kentucky's progressive spirit would be much better recognized nationally were it not true that financially, just now, all political bodies have to run so hard to stand still. But our Aycock will come, and maybe dollars will get back to normal so that our disposition to be up and doing will reflect itself as we move up in the table of the states. When that happy day comes I am sure that Harry W. Schacter will be one of those to whom we owe a major debt.

But for the alligator hide to which he admits, but for his energy and his willingness to give vast amounts of time and money, and, beyond all else, but for his intelligence and his dedication to the work of the Committee for Kentucky, Harry W. Schacter could have become discouraged and quit long ago. As it is, the Committee will come to an end in 1950, feeling that it has done its pioneering work. From there on out, Harry W. Schacter can sit back, like Johnny Appleseed, and watch his seeds sprout. But he probably won't; he'll be about other good works. At least, however, Kentucky will have a chart for its progress. And so will the other states which have already begun to copy the fine work of the Committee.

MARK F. ETHRIDGE

P R E F A C E

WHY THIS BOOK WAS WRITTEN

THIS book is a confession of faith, an abiding faith in the validity of democracy: a profound faith that if the democratic ideal could be translated into effective action, our democracy would develop a strength that not only would resist every challenge but would actually grow stronger with each challenge.

Since faith cannot stand alone without works, this book is the story of how the faith of a group of people in Kentucky was translated into works; of how this group, through an organization—the Committee for Kentucky—helped to start a democratic regeneration in a great state—a state that had faltered by the wayside of progress.

It is also the story of how a number of divergent groups, each with its own special interest, learned for the first time to work together for the good of all—and found that everybody gained by it.

This book is, above all, a vigorous affirmation that democracy can be made to work in any community, if the people of that community want it to work. It is written in the hope that people in other communities may come to the same conclusion and try it. It aims to suggest some of the methods by which it may be done.

One of the most exciting things about democracy is the fact that fifty communities, starting with the same general objective,

can use entirely different methods and still achieve that objective. Or, as Kipling puts it:

There are nine and sixty ways
Of constructing tribal lays,
And every single one of them is right.

This book, therefore, is intended to suggest not the method but a method of helping to make democracy effective in a community, whether that be a neighborhood, a town, a city, a state, or even a nation. Each community will have to find and develop the methods best suited to its own particular needs.

It is my earnest hope that somewhere in every community someone of courage and vision will read this story and, having finished it, will be moved to call a meeting of a few kindred spirits and say to them, "We can make democracy work—here! Let's do something about it—now! Let's join forces for the achievement of a better life for all the people in our community. Let's get going—immediately!"

If that should happen in only one community, the time, the thought, and the care that it took to write this book will have been more than justified.

H. W. S.

Louisville, Kentucky
January, 1949

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I WISH to make grateful acknowledgment to my two chief co-workers in the Committee for Kentucky—Maurice D. Bement, its Executive Director, and James W. Armstrong, its Director of Community Service. Their zeal and crusading spirit, and especially their devotion to their task far above the call of duty merits the thanks of every Kentuckian.

Also I want gratefully to acknowledge my thanks to Miss Clara Allen, the efficient secretary of the Committee for Kentucky, who worked so hard to help me bring this book into being.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my secretary, Mrs. Mary Catherine Kannel, who for the first year and a half of the life of the Committee carried the entire burden of its secretarial work in addition to performing so capably the functions of her regular position as secretary to the president of a large department store.

For the time and trouble they took to read and criticize the manuscript, I want to thank Dr. Howard W. Beers, Dr. Irwin T. Sanders, and Dr. Maurice F. Seay, of the University of Kentucky; James S. Pope, Managing Editor of the *Courier-Journal*, Francele H. Armstrong, and especially my colleagues—Maurice D. Bement and James W. Armstrong. I am particularly grateful to Charles W. Ferguson, a senior editor of the *Reader's Digest*, for his advice and counsel, and especially for his encouragement in the job we were trying to do.

To the directors and experts of the Committee for Kentucky, and to all those who participated in its work, the people of Kentucky owe a vote of thanks for five years of unselfish service, devoted to the welfare of the state.

Far and above all the others, I want to pay a tribute of admiration and respect to the people of Kentucky. They, by their attitude and reaction to the work of the Committee, proved that they had courage and character and could take it. Without their encouragement and support the Committee could never have gotten under way. They proved conclusively that there is no limit to what the people of a state can do once they make up their minds to do it.

H. W. S.

Part I

WAKE UP, KENTUCKY

1. MY OLD KENTUCKY HOME

IN THE course of my business, I have occasion to travel frequently into other states, particularly to the north and to the east. When people ask me where I am from, and I say, "Kentucky," a kind of dreamy look comes into their eyes, and I know exactly what they are thinking about. They are thinking about our lush fields of bluegrass waving in the breeze; about our beautiful women, of whom we have many; about our fast horses that are a thrill to see; about the frost coming out on the mint julep cups—good to the sight and, to many, good to the taste. We have all this and more. We have people of courage and character—people as good as can be found anywhere in America.

But, underneath it all, there have been going on for the last fifty years a dry rot and a decay which have brought Kentucky to a point where, by 1940, it was at, or near, the bottom of the forty-eight states in many of the worth-while things of life. Even where we had gone forward, our rate of progress was so much slower than the rate of other states that, at best, we remained relatively stationary.

Fifty years ago Kentucky was first in the South in industrial pay rolls. Its educational system ranked high. It was a famed cultural and world-trade center. It was an important fashion

center. Young brides-to-be came to Louisville for their trousseaus from as far away as New Orleans.

Kentucky came by this eminence honestly, as a result of the work done by its earliest pioneers. For, as Dr. Irwin T. Sanders says in *Kentucky: Designs for Her Future*:

The builders of Kentucky led in more than the conquering of the wilderness. They pioneered also in various fields of health and social welfare. The doctors of Kentucky, for instance, live in the glow of a great medical tradition. Early in the nineteenth century, Transylvania University had one of the best medical schools in the Nation and a famous medical library. In 1809, Dr. Ephraim McDowell, one of Kentucky's representatives in the national Hall of Fame, performed the first ovariectomy. Dr. Samuel Brown, a fellow student of Dr. McDowell at Edinburgh, is credited with the first prophylactic use of cowpox vaccine. By 1802, before vaccination had been used even in New York or any other eastern center, Dr. Brown had vaccinated more than 500 people in Lexington.

Kentuckians in the early days realized the importance of institutional care for certain groups of the population. The first state penitentiary (1798), the second state institution for the insane (1824), and the first state school for the deaf (1823) to be provided anywhere in the Nation were established at Frankfort, Lexington, and Danville respectively. In 1842 Kentucky was one of the first states to open a school for the blind, in Louisville. Sixteen years later the American Printing House for the Blind was established. Now, with Congressional support, this is the largest enterprise of its kind in the world.

In short, the leadership which the pioneers gave to Kentucky concerned itself not only with economic problems but with important problems of health, education, and welfare.

But by the early 1940's Kentucky had come upon sorry days:

Among the Southern states we were next to the lowest in industrial pay rolls.

Our per capita income was 59 per cent of the United States average in 1943.

Our population decreased 10 per cent between 1940 and 1943. We lost 250,000 people in these three years—many more than the war could account for.

One native Kentuckian in every four had left the state in search of opportunity elsewhere. This was particularly tragic, for Kentucky with its comparatively meager income did not have revenues comparable with those of other states to spend on education. The money which was spent often meant real hardship and sacrifice. Then, having spent so much of its substance on educating its children, Kentucky had indeed a bitter pill to swallow in seeing one out of every four leave the state because he could not find opportunity at home. The pill was made more bitter by the fact that it was often the ablest and most enterprising people who left.

In education, our condition was especially deplorable. Almost everyone will agree that, if there is one thing to which every American child between the ages of seven and fifteen is entitled, it is an elementary-school education. In the nation, 95 out of every 100 children were getting an elementary-school education in 1940; in Kentucky, only 63 out of every 100. More than one child in three was deprived of even the simplest schooling.

As a result, illiteracy was rampant throughout Kentucky, ranging from 8 per cent in Kenyon County to 44 per cent in Martin County. This was not in the Balkans—it was in the United States. It was not in the eighteenth century—it was near the middle of the twentieth.

In 1940, only Arkansas had a smaller percentage than Kentucky of adults who had graduated from high school. That is why we in Kentucky sometimes say, "Thank God for Arkansas!"

In the school term 1943-44 we ranked forty-first among the forty-eight states in expenditures for education.

In the school year 1943-44, we were forty-seventh in length of the school term. How could a Kentucky child, who averaged 159

days in school each year, compete with a child in Illinois, who averaged 187? When Illinois children had completed the tenth grade, they had been given the opportunity to attend school for almost as many days as Kentucky children who had completed the twelfth grade. Was that a fair handicap to put upon Kentucky's children?

In 1943, four thousand teachers out of a total of seventeen thousand in Kentucky earned less than \$12 a week on a 52-week basis. Four thousand five hundred of the teachers held only emergency certificates. Some were not even high-school graduates. One in every four did not meet even the lowest legal qualifications for teachers' certificates. What kind of teaching could we get under such conditions? What kind of future citizens would such teachers educate?

In Kentucky 114,000 children started in elementary school in 1932. In 1944, at the end of twelve years, how many of these do you suppose graduated from high school? Approximately 14,000! Seven out of every eight children who started school in 1932 never reached high-school graduation! What a tragic loss of potential leadership!

In health, our conditions were equally bad at this time: We had 14,000 active cases of tuberculosis and only 800 hospital beds in which to care for them. Only two states in America had a higher death rate from tuberculosis; one of these was Arizona, where so many people suffering from that dread disease go to spend their last days.

In one area, 11,500 Kentuckians depended upon one doctor.

There were 333 communities, with populations from 200 to 3,000, which had no public water-supply systems.

Two-thirds of our schools had unsafe drinking water for their children.

There were 3,000 defectives—without family or friends to

depend upon—who needed institutional care. We had facilities for only 750. We were meeting only 25 per cent of our responsibility toward them.

These conditions were further aggravated by the fact that the Kentucky Public Health Services were constantly losing some of their best men because of the niggardly salaries we were paying. As late as November, 1947, Kentucky ranked forty-eighth among the forty-eight states in salaries paid to directors of local health services.

Conditions in agriculture were just about as bad as in education, in health, and in economic opportunity. Kentucky is predominantly a rural state. Seventy per cent of our economy is agricultural. In 1942, 42 per cent of our farms were not reached by improved roads of any sort. Was it any wonder that children could not get to the schools and that illiteracy was widespread? Was it any wonder that the comparatively few doctors we had in the rural areas could not get back to the farms and that disease was so prevalent?

In 1940, 32 per cent of our farms yielded products valued at less than \$250 per year, and 51 per cent of them yielded less than \$400. That year the average cash farm income per farm family was only \$12 a week—and it was mainly the rich Bluegrass section of Kentucky which brought the average up to that figure! What kind of life could such a farm produce for an American family? What kind of stake in our democracy could *such a family have?*

75 per cent of our farms did not have central-station electric service in 1943.

84 per cent of the farms did not have telephone service in 1940.

13,000 farmers had to haul water for stock an average of four miles in 1943.

40 per cent of our farm homes needed major repairs in 1940. 97 per cent of the farmhouses had no toilet facilities within the house. 42,000 farms had neither toilet nor privy.

Not a pretty picture, is it? But before you become too sorry for us and too complacent about conditions in your own state, I suggest that you try to find out where your state stands in these matters. You may be due for a shocking surprise.

How did we get that way? How could it come to pass that a state as healthy economically and socially as we were in the 1890's could, in the short space of fifty years, reach such a low ebb? I think that part of the answer is to be found in a comparison of the life of a state with the life of an individual. If you don't feel as well today as you did yesterday, you don't do much about it. If tomorrow you don't feel quite so well as you do today, you still won't do anything about it. Gradually and imperceptibly you go down, until one day you find that you are really sick. Then, if you are wise, you will see a doctor, get a diagnosis of your ills, and try to effect a cure. As it is with an individual, so it is often with a state.

But that is only a surface answer. The underlying causes for this gradual decline were outlined by several members of the faculty of the University of Kentucky in *Kentucky: Designs for Her Future*. They suggest six basic reasons why Kentucky went so steadily downhill during this fifty-year period:

1. Kentucky lagged in industrial development. What industry she did build was based on exploitative or extractive industries. We extracted the raw materials from the ground, shipped them to other states to be processed, and then bought them back at a cost many times the price for which we sold the raw materials. Had we developed manufacturing industries in places at which the raw materials were extracted, we could have developed pay rolls, purchasing power, and a tax structure which would have

made a profound difference in the social and economic health of Kentucky.

2. Kentucky made slow progress in communication. This includes roads, telephones, and other means by which people contact one another. The result in many areas was the continuation of a clannish family society. This prevented these areas from receiving the impact of new ideas from other places and of growing with the ideas. With such nourishment for growth absent, a gradual decay was inevitable.

3. Somehow Kentuckians diverted to politics the social energy which should have gone into improving business, developing industry, and extending educational and welfare services. Because of our tremendous preoccupation with politics, we seem to have earned the slogan that "politics are the damndest in Kentucky."

4. The Southern tradition of the Bluegrass as well as of other sections of the state looked toward the past instead of the future. This made Kentucky, from a cultural standpoint, an appendage of Virginia. Until recently, it was the fashion for upper-class families to send their children to school in Virginia instead of supporting Kentucky colleges and universities. In addition, there are even today a number of places in Kentucky which are bitterly opposed to the influx of new industries on the ground that it would spoil the character of their communities.

5. There is an absence of the foreign-born in the population and of the artisan skills which they often bring from abroad. The melting pots touched Kentucky so little in these fifty years that we were deprived of the stimulation that many other centers received from the influx of immigrants. That, coupled with the inertia of the descendants of the settlers, helped send Kentucky downhill. For a state never stands still; if it does not go forward, it steps back.

6. Kentucky in its geographical diversity is both blessed and cursed by Nature. It enjoys an advantage in the fact that if one

section of the state suffers adversity it does not necessarily follow that other sections will be similarly affected. At the same time, however, this geographical diversity and local differences in economic interest make it difficult for Kentuckians in all regions to agree on fundamental policies. Each region has its own set of problems. The needs of the mining communities in the eastern part of the state are substantially different from those of the agricultural communities of the Bluegrass section. These, in turn, differ considerably from the needs of the industrial sections in Louisville and along the Ohio River.

It is hard to say which of these reasons were causes and which results. All of them contributed in some measure to Kentucky's plight in 1940. The time had come to do something about it.

2. HOW IT ALL BEGAN

WHEN the health of an individual has been slowly and imperceptibly failing, there are times when he is brought up sharply to an awareness of his condition by some accidental happening. The recognition of the conditions that helped bring about the resurgence of Kentucky came about quite accidentally and under rather unusual circumstances.

In 1927 the people of Kentucky elected a Republican governor and a Democratic legislature. There developed a running feud between these antagonists during the entire four-year term of the Governor. The Legislature enacted a series of "ripper" bills which steadily and effectively deprived the Governor of so many of his powers that at the end of his term, in 1931, the only sovereign gubernatorial power he had left was the right to appoint notaries public. This feud had a detrimental effect on the affairs of Kentucky. The state remained stagnant.

One of the most progressive groups in our state is the Kentucky Merchants Association, an organization with 3,800 members located in practically every community in the state. The "store," particularly in the smaller community, is a focal point of public opinion. The merchant, because of his many contacts with the outside world, often has a substantial influence on the

opinions of his customers. He is usually a champion of his community's progress, for his interest is so closely tied up with the *community's growth*.

In 1943 the merchants noted with real dismay that the people had again elected a Republican governor and a Democratic legislature. Once again there was the prospect of a running feud between the two. Once again the state would suffer.

There was, however, this basic difference between 1927 and 1943: In 1927 we were heading for the last two years of a boom period in the United States. We were at peace. In 1943 we were in the midst of the most destructive war in the history of mankind. We were further faced with the prospect of many serious post-war problems which could be solved only if all our people were to pull together.

It so happened that just prior to the 1943 gubernatorial election I had been chosen president of the Kentucky Merchants Association. I suggested to my fellow merchants that we could not afford to stand idly by and watch a repetition of the 1927-31 debacle and that we must take positive action to try to prevent it.

After considerable discussion we agreed to put both sides on notice that we would demand a close working co-operation between them. A letter was sent to every member of the Legislature and to every administrative officer of the state. It pointed out the issues involved. It served notice that petty partisan politics was a luxury that we could ill afford either in the midst of war or in the post-war period to come. It urged both sides to rise above politics for the good of the state.

Shortly after this letter was dispatched, it occurred to us that our plea would have far greater effect if other important groups could be persuaded to do likewise. Accordingly, late in November, 1943, we invited to a meeting some thirty of the most important groups in the state. These included representatives of several important business groups. They also included the Ken-

tucky Farm Bureau Federation, the Kentucky Education Association, and a number of service and professional groups. In addition, we invited the Kentucky leaders of the four main branches of labor—A.F. of L., the C.I.O., the United Mine Workers, and the Railway Brotherhoods.

At this meeting, a spokesman for the merchants outlined the history of the 1927-31 period and its effect on the state. He then read the letter which the merchants had sent to the political leaders and asked all of the groups present to consider sending a similar letter in order to add the weight of their influence to this proposal. After a comparatively brief discussion, the representatives of every group present enthusiastically voted to recommend this action to their membership.

As the meeting was about to be adjourned, a representative of the Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation arose and said, "Gentlemen, before we adjourn, I would like to make an observation. I note that in this room there are representatives of some of the most important and powerful groups in the state. It is my feeling that if these groups could work together, their combined strength would be so great that they could accomplish almost any worth-while objective for Kentucky. If it was a good thing for all of us to get together tonight for the one worth-while purpose of this meeting, wouldn't it be an even better idea for us to join forces permanently for other equally worth-while purposes?"

Immediately the entire spirit of the meeting changed. One of the most important labor leaders in the state arose and said, "I heartily concur with the previous speaker's suggestion. If this war period has taught us anything, it is the need for unity. Speaking for labor, we are enthusiastically prepared to join with these other groups, not only for this but for such other public purposes as may seem best to the majority of us."

By this time the gathering had assumed the air of a revival

meeting. Speaker after speaker arose to endorse the idea with ever greater enthusiasm. What seemed to be happening was that people who traditionally had been pulling apart, had suddenly—almost accidentally—had a glimpse of what they could accomplish by pulling together. Somehow all of those at the meeting seemed to be sharing a vision—a vision of a better life for the people of Kentucky, brought about by their own efforts. But little did they dream that night how far this idea of working together would take them or what important results it would achieve.

Someone suggested the name "Committee for Kentucky." That "for" struck a responsive chord. So many people are usually "against"—so few "for." The name was unanimously adopted. Temporary officers were elected and charged with the responsibility of formulating a program and of presenting it to the group at a subsequent meeting.

And there we were with a name, an idea, and an inspiration—all looking for a place to go. We had literally stumbled into existence!

3. OBJECTIVE—A MORAL CLIMATE FOR PROGRESS

FOR several months, those of us charged with the responsibility of developing the program of the Committee for Kentucky wondered how to proceed and what direction to take. For a while we were stumped. Just about this time I asked Mark Edridge, publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal and the Louisville Times, what he thought we could accomplish. His answer was prophetic. He said, "If the Committee for Kentucky can develop the moral climate in which Kentucky can make progress, it will have made a real contribution to our times."

We pondered on that for some time. We knew that a moral climate conducive to progress could not be manufactured by any simple device, any more than the temperature of a room could be raised by holding a match under the thermometer. A moral climate could come only from the minds and hearts of the people.

After a period of earnest soul searching, we came up with our answer. It seemed to us that to develop a moral climate we must have, first, an objective; second, a well-considered plan; and, third, a driving force to move the plan toward the objective.

The first question, naturally, was: "What is our objective?"

After considerable thought and discussion we set for ourselves this threefold purpose:

1. To raise Kentucky's level of education, of health, of welfare, and of economic opportunity so that all her people might have a better chance at a fuller and richer life.

2. To give a stronger helping hand to those of our unfortunates who were suffering from "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune"; to give positive affirmation that we were, indeed, our brother's keeper.

3. To make democracy a vital and living force in our daily lives, instead of a sonorous term rolled glibly from the tongues of political orators at election time; to make democracy come to life in every town and hamlet of the state.

We next agreed on a five-point plan to reach our objective. We proposed:

1. *To get the facts.* With the help of the foremost experts in the state, we determined to find out what was wrong with Kentucky. We would approach this inquiry with the same care, thoroughness, and objectivity which a highly competent doctor uses in diagnosing the ills of a sick patient. A doctor wants to know all of the background and all of the facts of his patient's condition in order to prescribe intelligently.

2. *To make the facts known to the people of Kentucky,* without any sugar coating, without any minimizing, without any of the exaggerations which so often are employed in touting a community or a state. It was our feeling that the people of Kentucky, having courage and character, could "take it." We were convinced that once our people knew the facts, they would begin to demand solutions. We were certain that what the people of Kentucky wanted they would get.

3. *To stimulate communities to organize for effective local action.* A great state is but a composite of great communities. If we could be instrumental in helping local communities to

develop their own plans and programs for progress, it would automatically follow that before too long we would have a progressive state. It was our conviction, too, that it was in the local community that democracy had the best chance of coming to life.

4. To make it clear that if the people wanted progress they would have to pay for it. We wanted them to understand that there were no short cuts to progress; that progress could not be bought at bargain rates; that if they really wanted progress they would have to pay for it in thought, work, and money. It was our deep conviction, however, that if the people knew the facts and realized the need for action they would be more than willing to pay the cost.

5. To make the people understand the consequences of failure. It was important for them to know that there was both a positive and a negative reason for the need to make democracy work. The positive reason was our belief that democracy was the best form of government yet devised to safeguard the dignity of the individual. The negative reason—the consequences of failure—was our realization that democracy could not just drift, and that if it failed it would mean that the free spirit of man might be enchained for generations to come.

Here, then, was the objective and the plan to achieve the moral climate about which Mark Ethridge spoke. One thing more was needed—a determination to see it through.

Accordingly, we kept before us the necessity for charting our course clearly and sticking to it, regardless of the effort and the work involved and regardless of the opposition. We realized that to make a contribution to the regeneration of a state would call for a prodigious amount of work. It would require an unselfish spirit and a tough hide.

It was evident from the beginning that many obstacles would

be put in our path—that we would encounter much opposition. We determined to go forward regardless of obstacles and of opposition. We even faced the likelihood that our motives would be misunderstood and that many brickbats would be coming our way. We decided to let them bounce!

And so, with a great objective, with a carefully thought-out plan, and with a determination to go forward, we started out confidently toward our moral climate, ready for the struggle against both apathy and opposition.

4. GETTING STARTED

CERTAIN practical considerations presented themselves almost immediately as the outline of our plan became clear. We recognized that progressive ideas and ideals have little value unless the people who hold them also have the will to do something about them—to translate them into effective action. For an unorganized ideal is like a disembodied spirit wandering around in all directions. An organized ideal, when given direction, can indeed move mountains.

Our first step, therefore, was to find out who would be on our side—who would join forces with us to translate democratic ideals into democratic action. We issued an invitation to many state groups to join us. Twenty organizations accepted.

Fortunately, among these twenty were some of the most important groups in the state. For example, there were the Kentucky Merchants Association, with its 3,800 members, exercising an influence far beyond its numbers; the Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation, speaking for 52,000 farm families; the Kentucky Education Association, with its 17,000 teachers; the four labor groups, comprising the 200,000 members of organized labor in the state.

Getting the four branches of labor to work together for a

common purpose was in itself no mean task. Fortunately, their leadership early recognized that labor's stake in Kentucky was at least co-equal with labor's stake in the labor movement; that every laboring man was a citizen first and a member of a union second. The Greek philosopher Socrates once said that the essence of friendship was to "suffer the same thing." At an early stage all four branches of labor realized that they were suffering in one way or another from the same backwardness, from the same problems arising from illiteracy, and from the same disease that beset the rest of the state.

Beginning early in 1944 with only twenty member organizations, the Committee, by 1948, had the support of some eighty-eight organizations, many of them state-wide. These eighty-eight organizations had a total membership in excess of 450,000 people and represented pretty much of a cross section of Kentucky life.

I would not for a moment have anyone believe that all of the 450,000 people who belonged to these eighty-eight organizations understood fully the purposes of the Committee, or that all had even heard about it. The important thing is that the leaders of these eighty-eight organizations not only fully understood the aims and purposes of the Committee but also gave the Committee their moral and financial support. These leaders wielded a powerful influence with their members. This was indicated, in one instance, by the fact that the directors of the Kentucky Education Association were able to persuade more than 5,000 of the 17,000 teachers in the system to become dues-paying members of the Committee for Kentucky.

In the 1947 gubernatorial election, approximately 675,000 votes were cast for all parties. Compare this figure with the 450,000 members belonging to the organizations which comprise the Committee for Kentucky, and it will readily be seen what a tremendous force for good such an organization might be.

These eighty-eight organizations came under six major classifications: agricultural, business, educational, labor, professional, and service groups.

In the agricultural group were the powerful Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation, the Kentucky County Agents Association, whose members have such an important influence in every county in the state, and the Southern States Co-operative.

In the business group the major organizations supporting the Committee were the Kentucky Merchants Association and the Junior Chamber of Commerce. With a few notable exceptions, the manufacturers and the bankers had not joined forces with us, but of that more later.

In the field of education we had the Kentucky Education Association, the Kentucky Congress of Parents and Teachers (with 93,000 members in Kentucky), the Kentucky Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and numerous other educational groups.

Among the labor groups there were enrolled the four major branches of labor, as previously indicated—the A.F. of L., the C.I.O., the United Mine Workers, and the Railway Brotherhoods.

Among the professional groups were the Kentucky Medical Association, the Kentucky Dental Association, the Kentucky Pharmaceutical Association, the Kentucky Welfare Association, the Kentucky Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the Kentucky Library Association, and a number of others.

Among the service groups were to be found the important Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs with its 16,000 members, the Consumers League of Kentucky, and others.

The press was represented by the all-important Kentucky Press Association, comprising practically all of the 187 newspapers, both daily and weekly which were published in the state.

In addition to the above, the Committee for Kentucky had as members practically every important organized Negro group in the state.

In February of 1945 the Committee for Kentucky was incorporated in order that it might have legal entity. This also made it possible for people to make tax-exempt contributions toward its work.

From the very beginning it was our desire that the directors represent every important interest in Kentucky life; that they truly represent a cross section of Kentucky. Perhaps it will serve a useful purpose to list below the officers and directors of the Committee—who they were, and what interest they represented as of September, 1944.

OFFICERS

President

Harry W. Schacter President, Kaufman-Straus Department Store
Representing Business
Chairman of the Board, Kentucky Merchants Association

First Vice-President

H. Fred Willkie Vice-President, Joseph E. Seagram and Sons
Representing Industry
Chairman, Governor Willis's Post-War Advisory Planning Commission

Second Vice-President

Joe Betts Director of Information, Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation
Representing Agriculture

Third Vice-President

Dr. R. B. Atwood President, Kentucky State College
Representing Negro Education

Secretary

E. M. Josey Secretary, Kentucky Pharmaceutical Association
Representing Trade Associations

OFFICERS—Continued

Treasurer

Edward H. Weyler Secretary-Treasurer, Kentucky State
Representing Labor Federation of Labor
(A.F. of L.)

DIRECTORS

Paul Blazer Chairman of the Board, Ashland Oil
Representing Industry and Refining Company
John W. Brooker Director of Public Relations (later
Representing Education Executive Secretary), Kentucky Ed-
ucation Association
Lee Coulson Executive Manager, Station WHAS
Representing Radio
John J. Cronin Dean, Kent School of Social Work,
Representing Social Wel- University of Louisville
fare
Dr. Carl M. Gambill Director, Division of County Health
Representing Health Work; Kentucky State Department
of Health
Mrs. Robert E. Johnson President, Kentucky Federation of
Representing Women's Women's Clubs
Organizations
Lt. Col. Albert H. Near Director of Airports, Louisville and
Representing the Armed Jefferson County
Forces Veteran of World Wars I and II
F. L. Stanley Publisher and General Manager, Louis-
Representing Negroes ville Defender
Tom Wallace Editor, Louisville Times
Representing the Press Vice-President, Inter-American Press
Association
Al Whitehouse President, Kentucky State C.I.O.
Representing Labor Council
(C.I.O.)

A glance at the list will show how widespread was the representation and will indicate the caliber of the directors and the importance of the positions they held. This was part of the

reason for the strength of the Committee and for the support which it received almost from the outset.

In July, 1946, the directors voted to expand the directorate from sixteen to thirty in order to give wider representation not only to the economic and social interests of the state but also to the geographical interests. Through this the directorate was strengthened even more.

The officers functioned as an Executive Committee, because so often there was need for prompt action on important matters of policy and procedure. In addition, there were various standing committees chosen from the directorate to work with and advise the staff on special problems.

But basically the strength of the Committee rested on the central council, which comprised a delegate and an alternate from each of the eighty-eight member organizations. This council passed upon and gave final approval to every report. It approved all basic matters of policy. It elected all directors and officers. It represented democratic participation of all the member organizations in the work of the Committee.

The objectives of the Committee were translated into two major programs—fact-finding reports and community service. The staff was organized accordingly. The Executive Director concerned himself with all matters pertaining to the preparation of the reports and to the functioning of the office. The Director of Community Service concerned himself with all matters pertaining to community activities.

This, then, was the instrument devised to harness the dynamic power of an ideal for effective democratic action. What follows will indicate how effective that instrument turned out to be.

5. THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE

THE first part of our five-point program was to get the facts. That, in itself, posed a number of staggering questions. What facts did we want? Who was to get them? How were they to be assembled? How were they to be presented? Who was to pass on them?

To get an answer to some of these questions, we sent a questionnaire to an important group of Kentuckians and asked of them two basic questions:

1. What do you consider to be the ten most important problems in Kentucky?
2. What do you consider the order of their importance?

The consensus was that the following, in the order given, were the ten major problems in Kentucky:

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Agriculture | 6. Housing |
| 2. Education | 7. Manufacturing |
| 3. Health | 8. Labor |
| 4. The State Constitution | 9. Natural Resources |
| 5. Welfare | 10. Taxation |

Three years later four more reports were to be added by the Committee:

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Transportation | 3. Government |
| 2. Community Life | 4. Blueprint for a Great Kentucky |

Having determined what the problems were, our next job was to find experts in each field to make the studies—men who not only had the necessary experience but also had a real desire to serve their state without thought of recompense, for the Committee at this point was long on faith and short on money.

In addition to their other qualifications, these men had to be completely free from partisan bias, so that the facts which they presented might be given full faith and credit by all Kentuckians, regardless of their political persuasion. This was important because the people of Kentucky take their politics so seriously that they have a tendency to read political bias into every important public activity. It was obvious to us that, should any of this enter into any of the reports, their effectiveness would be at an end. We therefore had to be particularly careful on that score.

The distinguished experts who rallied to our cause were a source of the deepest pride and satisfaction to all of us who had a part in the program. They proved that men will give themselves to an ideal beyond all considerations of money, of time, and of effort.

Here is a list of the experts and their backgrounds. This will help explain why their reports had such widespread and ready acceptance:

EXPERTS

Report on Agriculture	Thomas P. Cooper
	Dean of the College of Agriculture and Home Economics; Director, Experiment Station University of Kentucky
Report on Health	Philip E. Blackerby
	State Health Commissioner

EXPERTS—Continued

- Report on Education Maurice F. Spay
Dean of the University
University of Kentucky
- Report on the Constitution . . . Eli H. Brown, III
Attorney, Louisville, Kentucky; For-
mer United States District At-
torney
- Report on Public Welfare . . . Howard W. Beers
Head, Department of Rural Soci-
ology
University of Kentucky
- Report on Housing (Urban) . . John J. Cronin
Former Dean, Kent School of Social
Work
University of Louisville
- Report on Housing (Farm) . . J. Allan Smith
Editor of Publications, Agricultural
Experiment Station and Agricul-
tural Extension Division
University of Kentucky
- Report on Manufacturing . . . W. Scott Hall
Professor of Economics
Transylvania College
- Report on Labor Ernest Greene Trimble
Department of Political Science
University of Kentucky
- Report on Natural Resources . A Committee of Distinguished Schol-
ars Headed by
Arthur C. McFarlan
Head, Department of Geology
University of Kentucky
- Report on Taxation James W. Martin
Director, Bureau of Business Re-
search
College of Commerce
University of Kentucky

EXPERTS—Continued

Report on Transportation	Rodman Sullivan Department of Commerce University of Kentucky
Report on Community Life	Irwin T. Sanders Head, Department of Sociology University of Kentucky
Report on Government	J. E. Reeves Department of Political Science University of Kentucky

Because we were pioneering, we had to improvise new social techniques as we went along. We therefore developed our own special method of launching these studies. We began with a dinner meeting to which we invited, in addition to the expert who was to make the study, all the directors and all the experts who were to do the other studies. We also invited representatives of the groups which had the greatest stake in the particular study under consideration.

The directors were there to represent the various special interests in the state. The other experts were there in recognition of the fact that no one problem in Kentucky—or anywhere else—can stand by itself. The problem of labor involves the problem of industry, the problem of industry involves the problem of health, the problem of health involves the problem of education. In short, the social and the economic health of a state are indivisible.

We also wanted to have present the groups which had the greatest interest in the study, for they, being most familiar with its problems, would be of special help in gathering the facts and in disseminating them.

We felt that if we could get a meeting of the minds among the experts, the directors, and those who had the greatest interest in the study we should get a completely balanced report. We took this idea bodily from the Tennessee Valley Authority's approach to its problems. It has worked wonderfully well.

The launching meeting in each case was a fascinating thing. The expert making the study would give a general outline of his approach to the problem. Then, without exception, everyone present—experts, directors, and interested groups—would discuss the proposed plan of the study. A most spirited discussion would invariably take place. Usually well toward midnight, and sometimes even later, we would reach a meeting of minds. The expert would have his course charted and could start on his way. Many a night, groups from Frankfort and Lexington who had attended the meetings in Louisville would return home groggy-eyed and yet elated to be part of such a significant enterprise.

These studies took anywhere from one to two years. When the expert had finished his work, a dinner meeting was again called of exactly the same groups which had launched the study. A mimeographed copy of the tentative report was sent, ten days in advance of the meeting, to each person invited so that he might study the report carefully and come prepared to criticize and to make suggestions.

At this meeting, the expert read his report in full, everybody present following from their scripts. Then the proposed program of action was presented. After that came a most intensive discussion period. Everyone present was called on for his opinion. No holds were barred. The criticism was often keen and sharp, though always constructive. The expert truly had to run the gauntlet of critical opinion. When the meeting was over, however, the report invariably emerged much the better for the discussion.

In the end, every report represented a meeting of the minds of those present. That, in itself, was a major accomplishment. It spelled strong support for the report, because all had had a hand in it. It was particularly helpful to have the group which had the greatest interest in it approve the report. For example, the fact that such divergent groups as the A.F. of L., the C.I.O.,

the United Mine Workers, and the Railway Brotherhoods had approved our Report on Labor gave it tremendous significance and complete acceptance.

The final step in the preparation of a report was its presentation at a public meeting to which were invited the delegates from every one of the member organizations of the Committee. At this meeting the expert read his report in revised form, and the person responsible for the plan of action read a statement of that. The delegates followed the reading of both from scripts distributed at the meeting. Both the report and the program of action were thoroughly discussed by the delegates present and approved in final form.

But that by no means ended the work necessary to get the report ready for the printer. For then came the major task of editing the report, simplifying the language where necessary, and cutting it down to fit the space requirements. This major task usually fell to the lot of the Executive Director of the Committee, whose contribution to each report was considerable. Finally, when the text was in acceptable form it had to be combined with the illustrations. Only then was it ready to go to press.

In the preparation of these reports for publication, we kept in mind our audience—the average Kentuckian. We felt that the reports should be attractive, readable, and simple in language. We reminded our publicity director of the following story: A graduate of a prominent divinity school was invited to preach a sermon to a simple farming community. Forgetting the character of his audience, he tried to impress them with every four-, five-, and six-syllable word he knew. He was quite set up with himself when he had finished. As the congregation filed by to shake his hand, he made the mistake of asking a rather plain-spoken farmer what he thought of the sermon. The farmer replied, "Preacher, I guess it was all right for them as understood

it, but if I was you I'd put the fodder on the ground where the cattle can come and git it." Those who have seen our reports will attest to their readability and their simplicity. They have made a deep impression on the people of Kentucky.

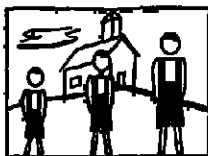
A fortunate accident contributed to making the reports readable and attractive. When our first report—the one on agriculture—was finished and ready for publication, we had no staff to do the necessary preparation. We were anxious for someone to help. At that time we were still engaged in the war, and the Personnel Distribution Command of the Army Air Forces was stationed in Louisville. One day the local head of the United States Employment Service telephoned me to say that a soldier in that outfit was looking for some work to do after hours—which meant after five o'clock in the afternoon. He had been an artist before the war. He wanted to know whether our store could use his services. I told him that since he would have to work with other people, and since our store closed at 5:30 P. M. every day, we could not possibly find a place for him.

It occurred to me, however, that he might be able to do this job of preparation for the Committee for Kentucky. So it was that Sgt. Arthur Ulbrand came into the picture. Although a native of New York, Ulbrand soon got the drift of what the Committee was about. In a comparatively short time he was an ardent crusader for the betterment of conditions in Kentucky. He readily undertook to illustrate the reports and to do the layout work, the art work, and everything else that was necessary to put the report in final form. It entailed his working with the printer at night. The printer had a son in the Army, was sympathetic to the situation, and readily consented.

Sgt. Ulbrand's illustrations in the reports were so outstanding that they added immeasurably to their readability and interest. He worked with us throughout the period that he was in the Army. By the time that he was being mustered out of service

and was preparing to go back to his home in New York, he had become so deeply interested in the work that he offered to continue to illustrate the future reports for us, making trips to Kentucky whenever necessary. We gladly consented. Every one of our reports, therefore, is his handiwork from the standpoint of layout, appearance, and illustrations. Thus a resident of New York has made a significant contribution to Kentucky.

In order to give a clearer picture of what the reports looked like, a few of the pages from the Report on Education are reproduced on the following pages. These are printed in black and white. In the original report, they are in color and are even more effective.



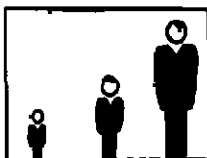
ARE THE CHILDREN ENROLLED IN SCHOOL?

Children of school age enrolled in school are
70 % in Kentucky,
84 % in the nation, and
94 % in Idaho.

In Kentucky there are
784,190 children in the school census,
572,810 children enrolled in public and private schools,
BUT
121,380 children enrolled in no school.

**WITH ABOUT 1/3 OF HER CHILDREN NOT EVEN ENROLLED
IN SCHOOL, CAN KENTUCKY STAMP OUT ILLITERACY?**

HOW MANY CHILDREN ARE ENROLLED IN HIGH SCHOOL?



For each 1,000 children between 14 and 17 years of age,
the number enrolled in high school is
412 in Kentucky,
679 in the nation, and
852 in Washington.

Only Mississippi has a smaller proportion of boys and girls
enrolled in high school.

Kentucky children of high-school age who are enrolled in high school are
715 out of 1,000 in Kenton County,
BUT ONLY
124 out of 1,000 in Casey County.

**WILL CITIZENS WHO HAVE NO HIGH-SCHOOL EDUCATION
RECOGNIZE KENTUCKY'S NEEDS?**

HOW MANY PUPILS GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOLS?



Ideally, about 8% of the children enrolled in a 12-grade school should graduate each year.

Actually, the proportion who graduate from high school is
2.8% in Kentucky,
4.5% in the nation, and
8.0% in Connecticut.

Only 2 states, both in the South, have smaller percentages of high-school graduates.

In Kentucky, the high-school graduates vary from
0.4% in Leslie County to
4.7 in Campbell County.

ARE HIGH SCHOOLS REALLY AVAILABLE TO KENTUCKY BOYS AND GIRLS?



HOW LONG IS THE SCHOOL TERM?

The average length of the school year is
169 days in Kentucky,
176 days in the nation, and
187 days in Illinois.

Illinois children who complete the tenth grade have had opportunity to attend school almost as many days as Kentucky children who complete the twelfth grade.

In the nation, 46 states have longer terms than Kentucky.

Of the 12 Southern states, 10 have longer terms.

School terms in Kentucky vary from
123 days in Leslie County to
188 days in Kenton County.

CAN KENTUCKY CHILDREN COMPETE WITH CHILDREN OF OTHER STATES, WHO SPEND SO MUCH MORE TIME IN SCHOOL?



HOW MUCH ARE TEACHERS PAID?

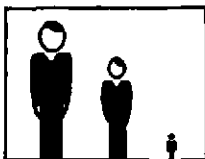
The average salary of teachers is

\$1,014 in Kentucky,
\$1,388 in the nation, and
\$2,697 in New York.

In the nation, 30 states pay their teachers higher average salaries than Kentucky. In the South, 5 states pay teachers more. Of the 7 states bordering Kentucky, 3 pay considerably more.

Teachers' salaries in Kentucky range from an average of
\$505 in Crittenden County to
\$2,032 in Jefferson County.

**DOES THIS EXPLAIN WHY SO MANY KENTUCKY-TRAINED
TEACHERS GO TO OTHER STATES—AND WHY SO MANY OF
OUR BEST TEACHERS GO TO THE RICHER SECTIONS
OF KENTUCKY?**



HOW MANY ADULTS ARE FUNCTIONALLY ILLITERATE?

People 25 years old or older
who have completed less than 8 years of school are
30% in Kentucky,
14% in the nation, and
4% in Iowa.

Only 10 states, 6 in the South,
have a larger percentage of functional illiterates.

Illiteracy of Kentucky adults ranges from
44% in Martin County to
8% in Kenton County.

**DO PEOPLE WHO CANNOT READ AND WRITE, OR WHO CAN
BARELY DO SO, MAKE THEIR GREATEST POSSIBLE CON-
TRIBUTION TO A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT?**

6. LET THE PEOPLE KNOW

THE second part of our plan was to spread the facts throughout the state—to tell the truth about Kentucky, straight from the shoulder, without pulling any punches, in the confident knowledge that our people had courage and character and could “take it.”

We recognized that it was urgent to have a sounding board against which to project our facts. What better background could there be than the member organizations who were actively giving the Committee not only their moral but their financial support? These organizations represented a cross section of Kentucky life. Their membership ran into the hundreds of thousands. If we could get our message across to them, we would be well on our way to getting the facts before all the people of Kentucky.

We therefore reached an agreement with all the organizations that, as a condition of membership, they would distribute our reports to their member groups, who would devote at least one meeting to a presentation and discussion of each report. These member organizations were our main avenue for getting the facts before the people. For not only did they give us a platform

from which to speak but, by their support of the Committee, they gave validity to what we had to say.

I have stated that our member organizations represented a cross section of Kentucky life. That is not quite accurate. For outside of the Kentucky Merchants Association, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and one or two other business groups at no time did we have the active support and participation of the manufacturing and the banking groups. A number of important industrialists did support us right from the start, as did several important bankers, but as a group they stayed aloof.

From the beginning it was our aim to arouse the people of Kentucky to an understanding of the condition of the state. The two greatest obstacles we faced were indifference and apathy on the part of most of the people. Those who were the beneficiaries of the *status quo* were not at all interested in any change. Those who were the victims of the *status quo* were too apathetic to be much concerned about change. When we met some of these whom we were trying to interest and said, "Kentucky is in a bad way; we ought to do something about improving conditions," the answer was, "Too bad! Now let's have a beer!" And that was that.

For a long time we pondered on the best method of arousing the people from their lethargy. Suddenly the answer hit us like a flash. Kentuckians were a proud people. They had tremendous pride in their state and in its traditions. If we could do something to pique that pride, we might have a chance of getting a rise out of them. And so we deliberately developed a list of some twenty-three facts—"shockers" we called them—to arouse the people to an awareness of the situation. Most of these facts are listed in the first chapter of this book. They got the results we were after!

When we merely said, "Kentucky is in a bad way in education; let's do something about it," nobody paid any attention.

But when we said, "More than one Kentucky child in three never gets an elementary-school education," the people were brought up with a sharp jolt.

When we said, "The health of Kentucky has deteriorated badly," few people seemed to care. But when we said, "Kentucky is forty-sixth among the forty-eight states in deaths from tuberculosis," that brought people to a sudden realization of the health situation.

When we said, "The health of our children is not sufficiently safeguarded," the statement was dismissed with a pious wave of the hand. But when we said, "Two-thirds of the schools of Kentucky have unsafe drinking water for the children," the people were truly aroused.

To these facts we added the slogan, "Wake Up, Kentucky!" Implicit in that slogan was the fact that Kentucky had been asleep. That, too, hurt the pride of the people, but it also made many of them mad enough to do something about it. We therefore started going throughout the state, publicizing these bitter facts, telling the people the truth about Kentucky—unvarnished, and straight from the shoulder.

It was a gamble. For if the people could not take it, we might well face a collapse of our program. But it was our deep conviction that the people of Kentucky could take it. We were certain that, once they had learned the facts, they would begin to demand solutions. And we had sufficient faith in democracy to feel that whatever the people of Kentucky wanted they would get.

We have been criticized by some in the state for "washing our dirty linen in public." Looking back on it, we think that, had we to do it over again, we should have followed the path we chose even more vigorously. We are convinced that stinging the pride of the people of Kentucky was the key which was to

unlock the door to progress. Someone said that by sending our unschooled workers to the rest of the nation, we were, in fact, sending our "dirty linen" all over the United States where others "washed" it. It was time for us to wash our own.

We realized early in our work that if we could enlist the help of the state's newspapers in disseminating the facts about Kentucky, a good part of our battle would be won. There are between 185 and 190 newspapers in Kentucky, most of them weeklies. These papers wield a tremendous influence in their communities. In the rural areas particularly they are read thoroughly every week. The Louisville Courier-Journal is by all odds the most influential newspaper in the state. Oswald Garrison Villard has ranked it seventh among the first ten daily newspapers in America.

We therefore called a meeting of all the editors of the state. We outlined to them our aims and objectives and asked their support. We suggested that they give thorough news coverage to our reports and to other items of interest as they developed. We further asked that they publish a weekly column which we would prepare called "Wake Up, Kentucky."

The response was spontaneous and enthusiastic. Every one of them pledged help, for they all realized that every newspaper had not only the obligation of service to its community but an enlightened self-interest in its progress. For example, how can the newspaper which serves the Martin County area prosper if 44 per cent of the people of that county are functionally illiterate? By the same token, every illiterate who improves his education becomes a potential subscriber to his community's newspaper.

As a result of the meeting, the Kentucky Press Association agreed to become a member of the Committee and selected its Secretary-Manager to be the Association's representative on the

Committee's directorate. He has been one of the staunchest supporters of the Committee and has helped to translate its aims and purposes to the Kentucky press.

The weekly column referred to above had an interesting history. Early in the work of the Committee we became acquainted with an unusual personality by the name of Ewing Galloway. Mr. Galloway had two major interests: a 700-acre farm in Henderson, Kentucky, where he spent about half of each year; and the largest still photographic service in the world, located in New York, where he spent the other half of the year.

Ewing Galloway is a homespun character, with a deep devotion to Kentucky. He quickly sensed what the Committee was after and offered to take time out from a busy schedule to write a weekly syndicated column to be called "Wake Up, Kentucky." Today, Ewing Galloway's column appears in 119 of the state's 187 newspapers—an extraordinary coverage by any standards in any state. A check-back in a number of communities has revealed that most of the people read his column regularly. He has become an important stimulator of community progress in a great many Kentucky communities.

The Kentucky press did a yeoman job in getting over to the people the story of the Committee for Kentucky.

While the newspapers and the Committee reports were playing their important part in disseminating the facts, the radio, too, contributed its full share. Toward the end of April, 1944, when the Committee had been functioning for only a few months, a meeting of the heads of all of Kentucky's radio stations was called. Eight of the nine then existing stations in the state were represented at this meeting. The story of the Committee for Kentucky and its aims, plans, and purposes were outlined to them. Like the newspaper men, they agreed to cooperate wholeheartedly and enthusiastically. After the meeting, the program director of the largest station stated that he had

never seen a group of radio people so enthusiastic about an idea as were these men about our project.

We were fortunate to have in Louisville a 50,000-watt clear-channel radio station—WHAS—then owned by the *Courier-Journal*. This station was powerful enough to reach practically every hamlet in Kentucky. For the first year and a half of the life of the Committee, WHAS contributed a weekly 15-minute dramatized program called "Wake Up, Kentucky." The station paid for a full-time person who did all the research for the programs, wrote the scripts, and produced the broadcasts. The station paid the actors for rehearsals as well as for the program itself. In addition, it had transcriptions made and sent to all the other Kentucky radio stations, which rebroadcast the programs each week.

By 1946 the number of radio stations in the state had increased to nineteen. Seventeen of these rebroadcast, without any charge, the programs which originated at Station WHAS. The value of this public service was incalculable.

In 1946, Station WHAS won one of the National Peabody awards for this program. It was a tribute thoroughly merited by WHAS for its great sense of public service, and particularly by Dorcas Ruthenberg, of its staff, for it was she who wrote most of the scripts, did practically all the research, and directed all of the broadcasts. In her labors she worked far and above the call of duty. Many a day she spent away from home digging for material in some faraway community and working and reworking the scripts until she felt they were right.

In addition to relying on the reports, the newspapers, and the radio to get our facts over to the people of Kentucky, we made use of every avenue of publicity we could think of. We conducted an essay contest on the aims and purposes of the Committee in all the elementary schools, high schools, and colleges of the state. The response was most gratifying. Thousands of

young Kentuckians began to think seriously about the problems of the state.

It is interesting to catch a glimpse of the thinking of some of these young people. Here is an excerpt from the essay of the first-prize winner in the college section, a Negro student attending Kentucky State College:

In most of our Kentucky cities housing conditions are deplorable. In them are some of the worst slums in the world. The war gave this writer the opportunity to visit many foreign and so-called "backward" countries; it was astounding to note that none of these countries had slum areas in large cities relatively worse than our own!

That America is the foremost country of civilization in the world today; that her natural resources are greater than are those of any single other country; that her citizens are potentially and materially the wealthiest, have the highest literacy rate, are the best informed, and are the most liberal-minded people in existence need not be reiterated here. We all know this. What should be pointed out is that by the very virtue of these facts the existence of such flagrant festering spots of squalor, crowding, disease, lack of sanitation, and discomfort in the very centers of our communities leaves no excuse for our failure to remedy them.

Kentucky no less than any other state can not afford to allow these conditions to prevail. The old myth that slums are natural and necessary by-products of the growth of our large cities has been exploded by most present-day sociologists. They are glaring outgrowths of our vicious class system and of sloppy social disregard.

The first prize in the high-school section was won by a student in the Louisville Girls High School. She ended her essay with the following paragraph:

These and many other problems confront us. The services of every Kentuckian are needed if we are to rectify our handicaps and continue to progress. Your share in the work may be likened to the story of a medieval duke who built a beautiful church as a memorial. When it was completed, he took his daughters to see it, and they were amazed at its beauty. Then, one of them noticed that there

were no lights in the church. The duke explained this by saying that each villager was expected to bring a lamp to light his own pew. That custom has lasted, and all the pews are always lighted. We can apply this to Kentucky. Each Kentuckian can be a lamp to light our State so that it may shine as the brightest star of the forty-eight!

A young girl from the Sand Springs School in Lawrenceburg, Kentucky, won first prize in the grade-school section. Apparently she was a teenager. Here is an excerpt from her paper:

Recreation is, I believe, the youngest but gravest problem of the State. Teen-agers are said to be responsible for the crime trend that is so prevalent today. If we had a place to go; if we had a playroom or a school gymnasium where we could dance and play games and feel at home; if we were not fearful that our teachers, our parents, and our preachers, wouldn't approve of what we do, maybe we wouldn't have such a grave problem.

Every year the Extension Department of the University of Kentucky, in co-operation with the Kentucky Education Association, conducts a discussion contest among all high-school students in the state. In 1946 the subject of the contest was the work of the Committee for Kentucky. In 1947 the subject was the need for a new state constitution. The interest of the young people in their state was constantly deepening.

In 1947 the Committee conducted an editorial contest among the state's 187 newspapers for the best series of editorials interpreting the work of the Committee. Again great interest was aroused, with good results.

In May, 1946, the Council on Higher Public Education, "believing that in the youth of Kentucky lies the road to improvement of the state's standing among its sister states," adopted a plan to incorporate the "Wake Up, Kentucky" movement in the curriculum of every high school and college.

In the fall of 1948 the Superintendent of Schools in the City of Louisville decided to purchase a complete set of the Com-

mittee's reports for the use of every student in the social science classes in each of the ten junior high schools in the Louisville school system. He felt that even in the junior high schools it was not too early for students to learn the facts about Kentucky.

At about the same time, the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the entire state sent out to all school administrators a memorandum reading in part as follows:

It is now possible for you to secure copies of each of these reports [of the Committee] for your high school social studies classes. I think you will agree with me that these reports contain excellent source material for the study of Kentucky's problems. We are all vitally interested in the solution of these problems.

This memorandum brought a fine response from school administrators from all over the state. Many copies of our reports were thus put into the hands of students.

At the beginning we decided to prepare a brochure which would at a glance tell what the Committee was and what it was working for; 100,000 copies of this brochure were printed and distributed throughout the state. We saw no reason not to use, in a great social program, all the worth-while techniques so effectively used by business. Robert Urch, the publicity director of the department store with which I am connected, and Kenneth Morgan, its display director, voluntarily gave a good deal of their spare time to the Committee in their respective capacities. They gave the professional touch to all of the Committee's publicity and display, and a mighty attractive touch it was.

In our efforts to make certain that all avenues of publicity were used, we hit upon the idea of having an exhibit at the Kentucky State Fair. Kentucky has some 3,000,000 people. The attendance at the Fair has in recent years exceeded 400,000. We thought that here was a good opportunity to tell the Committee for Kentucky story to the people who came to the Fair from all

over the state. Accordingly, we built an attractive exhibit and manned it with our staff throughout State Fair Week. Extraordinary interest was aroused, as evidenced by the thousands of brochures people asked for and the thousands of inquiries they made as to what it was all about.

In addition to the exhibit at the State Fair, we presented numerous exhibits at conferences of all kinds, not only in Kentucky but elsewhere. These attracted widespread attention.

We also distributed copies of our reports, without charge, to all the high schools, colleges, and universities in Kentucky and to all Kentucky libraries. According to advices received from the schools, these reports have been widely used. In some of the colleges and universities, notably the University of Louisville, the reports have been made required reading. Literally thousands of copies have been purchased by students at a nominal charge. It was heartening to us to know that those to whom the future destinies of Kentucky would be entrusted were so deeply concerned about the state's problems and were beginning to know the facts.

In addition to all this, there were hundreds of requests from all over the state for speeches to be made by members of the Committee staff. Fortunately for the Committee, its Executive Director, Maurice D. Bement, was an accomplished speaker and thus was able to bring the Committee for Kentucky story effectively to many groups in many communities in the state. The Committee was equally fortunate in having, as its Director of Community Service, James W. Armstrong, who had been Assistant Professor of Public Speaking at Northwestern University and who had written a significant book on the subject of public speaking. It was he, particularly, who pioneered in the field of community organization in many localities in the state. He, too, was much sought after as a speaker on the work of the Committee.

Other members of the Committee contributed their services in this direction. The demand for the Kentucky story kept increasing all the time. Scores of communities listened to the story. Wherever it was heard it seems to have awakened in the minds and hearts of the people the hope and the vision of a better day.

These, and many others, were the means by which we carried out the second part of our plan—to tell the facts to the people of Kentucky. And the people began to know the truth.

7. PROGRESS CAN START IN YOUR TOWN

THE third part of our plan for developing a moral climate for progress called for community organization—the banding together of the citizens in every community to study and take action on their local problems. It seemed to us that in the local community we could achieve a twofold objective: to lay the groundwork for a progressive Kentucky—for a progressive state is nothing but a composite of progressive communities—and to make democracy come alive.

Conversely, we felt that it was in the local community that democracy might well be lost. As Dr. Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University, recently said, “Unless both local government and community civic activities of a non-governmental character are continued in full vigor and effectiveness, democracy in any accurate sense of the term will vanish before we know it is gone.”

It has become the fashion in recent years to talk about grass roots. Glorifying the grass roots is a sort of national game. Yet behind all this there is a recognition of the fact that it is in the grass-roots areas—in the local communities of America—that

our democracy will rise or fall. That was the reason why we placed so much stress on organizing these communities.

In a recent review of an important book in *Time* magazine, the reviewer said that it was the author's simple thesis that, if the people of any community could get together to discuss their local problems and try to do something about them, democracy would be reborn. We set out to do exactly that in an experiment in Henderson, a typical Kentucky community of some 20,000 people, located in the western part of the state on the banks of the Ohio. We were eager to stimulate progress in Henderson as an example to the rest of the state. We felt, too, that Henderson might become a testing ground for the democratic process.

It seemed to us that for many years before the war America had been suffering from a split personality. The people had entrusted the control of their affairs to men in political life, not as one places a sacred trust in the hands of another but rather as a mother abandons her child on a doorstep. Some of the politicians, sensing this virtual abandonment, used their position for private gain and for the enhancement of their personal power. This, in turn, had a curious effect on the people. They became apathetic, cynical, defeatist. You often heard them say resignedly, "This matter is in the hands of the politicians—we can't do anything about it." When the war came, the people closed ranks with their political leaders and showed the world the stuff of which democracy was made.

Today, we in America are on the threshold of a grave decision. Are we again going to abandon our affairs at the doorsteps of the politicians, or are we going to place them in the hands of our political leaders as a sacred trust and constantly concern ourselves to see that this trust is fulfilled? If we do that, our democracy will be stronger than any totalitarian system yet de-

vised. If we don't, the outlook for democracy is dark indeed. This consideration was foremost in our minds as we embarked on the Henderson experiment.

In February, 1946, we met with about fifteen of Henderson's civic leaders and outlined our idea to them—the total mobilization of every organization in Henderson for the purpose of studying their local problems and of developing programs of action to solve them. After a full evening of discussion, the leaders became so enthusiastic about the idea that they agreed to call a meeting of the heads of all organizations actively functioning in Henderson. When we were told that there were about one hundred such organizations and that they included every important business, labor, agricultural, professional, church, and service group, it seemed hard to believe. But Americans are that way. They like to join!

We met two weeks later in the Health Center in Henderson, in a room which seated but 85 people. We felt that it would be fine if we could get 85 per cent attendance. When the meeting night rolled around, 117 people came. They stood in the aisles and in the halls throughout the meeting. They voted unanimously to form a Committee for the City and County of Henderson. They planned, for one month later, a Town Hall meeting to sell the idea to their fellow citizens.

The largest Town Hall meeting ever held in Henderson until then had attracted about 800 people. The planning group voted to hold their meeting in the Barret High School gymnasium, seating about 2,500 people—and 2,500 people in Henderson is comparable to a mass meeting of 900,000 in New York!

The zeal with which the citizens set about to organize this Town Hall meeting was extraordinary. The air was filled with the sounds of bell ringing as the community was summoned to the meeting by the same bell used by Henderson's first Town

Crier more than a hundred years before. For in the early days of its founding, the citizens of Henderson had met in such a manner to decide upon the problems of the moment.

The meeting was widely publicized through the press, the radio, the schools, and the churches, by a proclamation of the mayor, by civic groups, and, uniquely, by word of mouth, through a "Town Crier" organization. Even the shut-ins participated in the program. They were made to feel that they belonged, for each shut-in was appointed a "Town Crier" whose bell was the telephone. Every shut-in was briefed on the purposes of the meeting and given a list of the people to call.

Since the meeting was sponsored by every organization functioning in Henderson, it was a foregone conclusion that it would be successful. By the time the meeting was called to order, every one of the 2,500 seats in the auditorium was filled, and it was estimated that about 500 more were turned away. The meeting was a heartening affirmation of the fact that there is almost nothing that the people of a community cannot do, once they make up their minds to it.

There was a musical program at the start, in which the choirs of a number of churches in the community sang together. The high-school band was augmented by all the available townspeople who had previously played in it and by many others who played band instruments.

Perhaps the most poignant episode of the meeting had to do with Hugh Sandefur. Hugh was a talented young musician who, some thirteen years before, had been tragically stricken with arthritis to such an extent that he was unable to move from his cot or even to sit up. Before his illness he had played the saxophone in one of the town bands. Hugh was a Town Crier and wanted so much to attend the meeting and to play in the band once more that one of the local undertakers, who owned and operated an ambulance, volunteered to take him, cot and all,

to and from the meeting. As the meeting was about to get under way, the cot was rolled in. Many of the people present felt a strange stirring in their hearts. Hugh was rolled onto the stage and into the middle of the band. His music stand was set up on his bed, his saxophone placed in his hands, and the concert began. Once again Hugh belonged!

Before the meeting, James W. Armstrong, one of the leaders in the organization of the Committee for Henderson and later our Director of Community Service, was moved to write a Credo which was so inspiring that we had it printed and distributed to everyone at the meeting. It is herewith reproduced:

CREDO OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF HENDERSON

The Committee for the City and County of Henderson is more than an organization. It is a faith. It is a faith in the ideology of democracy. It is a physical embodiment of the belief that men and women—citizens of the same community—can assemble from different interests and occupations, from different racial stocks and religions, from different political affiliations, from different social and economic positions, and, by subordinating special interests to general interests, can thereby achieve a richer, fuller community life than is separately obtainable.

It is a belief that the areas of agreement and unity in community life are more important than the areas of disagreement and disunity.

It is the belief that our biggest problems are held in common—that we hold the problem of disease and health in common, that we hold the problem of ignorance and enlightenment in common; that the problems of poverty and prosperity, of bad government and good government, of bad citizenship and good, all of these are problems and projects in which all citizens hold a common responsibility and for which solutions can come only through community wide co-operation.

We believe that in the hands of its citizens rests the future development of our community . . . and that community development is possible only through an interested, informed citizenry, organized to work together. . . .

This is the statement of our faith, resting in the ancient ideals which gave birth to the United States of America. It is the credo of our democracy.

The meeting was an inspiring success. Visitors had come from all over the state and from beyond its borders. The speakers included not only the local officers but representatives from the top leadership in the state as well. When the question of forming a Committee for the City and County of Henderson was put to the meeting, it was overwhelmingly approved and the Committee was launched.

Nothing like this had ever happened in the entire history of Henderson. The people shared a vision and decided to go forward together. They agreed on five major studies of their local problems—agriculture, education, health, housing, and welfare. They set to work with a will.

One of the first problems considered was in the realm of public health. Henderson had been supplying water to some of the outlying districts which had no sewerage system. This water was coming back to Henderson in the form of sewage and creating a public health menace. For years the public health officer had tried to get something done about it. But he was alone—and got nowhere.

When the Health Report of the Committee for the City and County of Henderson was published and this health menace was brought forcibly to the attention of all of the citizens, the public health officer was no longer alone. He had the support of every organization in Henderson! Within a week after the report was made, the city fathers, sensing the will of the people, promptly voted a bond issue for the sewers. Today these sewers are a reality. A small problem, you say? Compared to the problems of the state or of the nation—certainly! But to Henderson a very important problem indeed—a problem solved through community citizen action.

The members of the Committee for Henderson did more than undertake to find out what was wrong with the community. They soon learned the great truth that working together on a common problem makes a whole community kin. They discovered that people who had never worked with one another before were now sitting around a council table working for a common purpose. People who had disliked each other for a long time were discovering that you can't dislike the other fellow nearly so much when you are face to face with him, working together for a common cause, as when you never see him. They discovered that people who live on both sides of the tracks can come together for a common objective and find that social distinctions begin to recede into the background.

Above all, they discovered these profound truths: that practically everyone has an inherent urge to serve his community. That he has a sense of frustration when he has no opportunity to serve it. That he gets an inner sense of satisfaction when given such an opportunity. "It is more blessed to give than to receive" has profound meaning when it is considered in connection with service to one's community.

A little over two years after the Committee for Henderson had been launched, Francele H. Armstrong, its publicity director, wrote an article summing up what Henderson had accomplished in those two years. She began by making the point that, although the Committee for Henderson had directly inaugurated certain progressive programs, a number of others came about as a result of the moral climate created by the Committee for Henderson and were launched quite apart from the Committee itself. Here were some of the signs of progress in Henderson:

1. For many years the community had been subjected to about fifteen fund-raising drives annually. The same citizens went out begging for cause after cause—all of them worthy—until they

were embarrassed to meet their friends on the street. One of the results of the Committee's study on Welfare in Henderson was a recommendation for the formation of a Community Chest, to combine all of these fifteen drives into one. After a thorough discussion the idea was unanimously approved. Two annual drives have now been held, and both were oversubscribed.

2. The city and county schools and the Y.M.C.A. had a combined recreation program for Henderson, but it was greatly handicapped by lack of operating funds. With the establishment of the Community Chest, the recreation program was included in the budget. Henderson now has a summer recreation program which is so outstanding in the nation that it has been used as a model for study by communities from all over the country.

3. As a result of citizen activity, local appropriations combined with state and Federal aid were sufficient to secure the services of two welfare workers to combat juvenile delinquency—one for the white and one for the Negro population of the community.

4. Not since early 1800, when Henderson was laid out, had the community operated under a plan for physical growth. As a result of citizen activity and considerable discussion, a zoning and planning ordinance was passed which affected not only Henderson but the whole region within five miles of its borders.

5. A dental clinic was established. Tennis courts, softball fields and playgrounds were built; a boat club and harbor were constructed. Civil service was introduced into the government of Henderson, and programs for adult education were established.

At the time this is being written, a community-wide forum on current world problems has been set up in Henderson, and those who attend may receive credit for the course in near-by Murray State College.

Previous to the November, 1948, election a considerable discussion had been going on in the community on a proposed

bond issue of three million dollars for a new light plant. This was made necessary by the continued industrial expansion of Henderson. Though three million dollars is a lot of money for a community the size of Henderson, the citizens voted approval of the bond issue and further industrial expansion of Henderson was assured.

Many other items of progress are in prospect. They are contemplating a community radio forum series and a tax equalization and reassessment study. They are planning to expand their study groups to include one especially devoted to youth. The welfare study committee has decided to concentrate on the County Poor Farm, which is in sore need of rehabilitation. They are developing a council on government to back the tax and reassessment study. They have added to each study group a young person in his early twenties in order to interest the youth of Henderson in the work of their community. Henderson is indeed on the march.

The Henderson idea is beginning to spread to other communities in Kentucky. Before too long it will spread to other states; for ideas, like radio waves, are no respecters of boundaries.

In Henderson the grass roots came to life and began to sprout. And, as they sprouted, democracy got a new-found strength.

8. THE PEOPLE MUST PAY FOR THEIR FUTURE

THE fourth part of our plan to develop a moral climate for progress in Kentucky was to get the people to realize that if they wanted progress they would have to pay for it; to make them understand that there were no short cuts to progress, that progress could not be bought at a bargain counter, and that if the people wanted it badly enough they would pay for it in thought, in work, and in money.

In January, 1946, an unprecedented event took place in Kentucky. A joint meeting of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Kentucky Legislature, which was then in session, was called for the sole purpose of hearing the story of the *Committee for Kentucky*. The members of the Legislature of Kentucky—where, according to tradition, “politics are the damndest”—had come together to hear the story of an ideal. It was history making.

We had proved to the state that the Committee was completely non-partisan and non-political. We had no legislation to propose. We had no axe to grind. There was nothing for which we wanted to lobby. We simply wanted to place before the Legislature the truth about Kentucky.

The Lieutenant Governor of the state, as President of the Senate, presided jointly with the Speaker of the House. All the members of both bodies were present. The galleries were packed.

The meeting was begun by the President of the Committee with a presentation of the idea and ideal behind the Committee for Kentucky. He stressed the major purpose of the Committee—to seek out the truth about Kentucky and to make it known to the people. After this presentation, each of the four experts who had by that time finished their reports gave the Legislature the highlights of his own findings. These included the Reports on Agriculture, on Education, on Health, and on the State Constitution. In a thirty-minute question period which followed, questions were directed to the President of the Committee; these were permitted only from members of the Legislature. The interest was intense.

During the question period one legislator asked, "Where is the money coming from to do all the things that have to be done? The people back home want us to reduce taxes, not to raise them."

The answer was: "We have a distorted idea about taxation in America. It reminds me of the association-of-ideas test. Somebody says 'black,' and you say 'white.' When they say 'up,' you say 'down.' When they say 'tax,' you say 'cut.' I know you gentlemen of the Legislature would like to do something of lasting value for your constituents. If you are instrumental in having a new school, a new hospital, or a new bridge built, it is something which will permanently improve the life of the people in your community. You can always point to it as a memento of your service in the Legislature. Yet you come here thinking that the great majority of the people are interested only in cutting taxes. I believe that the people are ahead of you in their thinking.

"I predict that, when the people of our state know the true

conditions existing within our borders, they not only will demand that these conditions be corrected but will be willing to pay for it. I predict that the time is coming when any one of you who runs for the Legislature on a platform of cutting taxes just to be cutting taxes will be overwhelmingly defeated."

This struck such a responsive chord in the hearts of the legislators that they brought the house down in their approval.

The entire hour and a half of the proceedings of this session were transcribed by Station WHAS and rebroadcast late that evening over the station's facilities. Because WHAS is a 50,000-watt station the broadcast was heard in many parts of the country, and we received many interesting reactions. Perhaps the most interesting came from a Major in the Salvation Army in Scranton, Pennsylvania. He was driving his car along the open road near Scranton a little after 11:15 P.M., E.S.T., when the broadcast began. Accidentally he tuned in to WHAS and soon became so engrossed in the broadcast that he pulled his car over to the side of the road and sat there until a quarter to one in the morning, listening to the full story. Subsequently, he not only wrote us what a deep impression it had made on him but actually made a trip to Louisville to study the workings of the Committee at first hand.

• Many who are cynical about democracy find it hard to believe that so many members of the Legislature, hard-boiled politicians as some of them undoubtedly are, could have been so moved by a spiritual idea, especially in an intensely political-minded state. And yet from this joint session of the Legislature in January, 1946, there flowed results which we could not possibly have hoped to achieve had we been the strongest pressure group in the state. From that meeting there came an impressive series of legislative enactments aimed to improve the social and economic conditions of the state. These statutes made for more social progress than had been accomplished in a long time.

It is again important to repeat that the Committee for Kentucky was by no means solely responsible for this legislation. War-time conditions and the spirit of the times were responsible for a good part of it. Many Kentuckians, however, including a number of the legislators themselves, stated that the Committee for Kentucky was a vital force in securing this positive and needed legislation.

The minimum legal school term was lengthened from seven to eight months. School-attendance laws were strengthened, and more money was appropriated for rural roads to help ease school transportation and attendance problems. The appropriation for the common-school fund was increased by \$3,500,000—the largest increase voted for public education at one session in the history of Kentucky.

Three million dollars was voted to complete the construction of five new tuberculosis sanatoria. Appropriations were also increased for the maintenance and care of those already in existence.

The Legislature passed an act to give all cities authority to issue revenue bonds to construct hospitals, which were badly needed in the small communities of Kentucky.

The state appropriations for farm-to-market roads were increased from two million to five million dollars.

Appropriations were raised from \$34,000 to \$484,000 for the development of the state's park program. Approval was given to the creation of a state commission to study ways and means of developing Kentucky's valuable resources.

An act was passed to permit city recreation boards to issue revenue bonds for playgrounds and recreation centers.

These are but a few of the measures passed by the Legislature to improve social and economic conditions in our state.

At this session the total annual budget was increased from \$32,000,000 to \$45,000,000, an increase of 40 per cent. This

could never have happened if the legislators had not felt that the people were behind them. As a proof of the fact that the Committee had done much to create that public opinion, one of the state senators had this to say at the end of the session:

The increase in over-all allotments to the state in general I attribute largely to the Committee for Kentucky.

I think most of the men in the Legislature were under the influence of the Committee even though they may not have been conscious of the fact.

The Committee broke party lines and showed the men how to work for the good of Kentucky rather than for their respective parties alone.

The people were ready to pay for progress, and the legislators knew it. The following example will help make my point:

For many years Kentucky had permitted a tax of only 75 cents per \$100 to be levied for rural school districts, as against \$1.50 per \$100 in the city districts. As a result, we placed a severe handicap on our rural children. If anything, it should actually have been the other way round, for city children have many more educational advantages than rural children. In addition, in the rural districts bus transportation usually has to come out of the seventy-five cent levy, whereas in the city school districts this problem does not exist.

For fifteen years the Kentucky Education Association had been working in the Legislature to get this tax equalized in order to put rural children on an equal footing with city children. And yet this organization, considered by many to have an exceptionally powerful voice in the affairs of the state, had been unable to accomplish this. Now, within ten days after our appearance before the Legislature, a bill to permit equalization of this tax was once more introduced. In the debate on the bill, more than thirty members of the Legislature got up to read excerpts from the Committee for Kentucky's Report on

Education. When the bill was put to a vote, it was passed by an overwhelming majority. Today, for the first time, rural children are on their way to having an equal chance with city children toward getting an education.

The passage of this law made us feel that a spiritual idea has infinitely more power than any lobby or any pressure group yet devised, no matter how strong it is or how worthy its objectives.

The fact that the people were willing to pay for their progress had been given further validity in Henderson, as noted in the previous chapter. For example, the Committee for the City and County of Henderson realized that, if the city was to have an orderly growth, it had to have a zoning law. A group of its members called upon the Mayor with the request that such a law be passed. The Mayor interrupted to say, "If this law is passed, it will add three cents per hundred to your tax bill."

They said, "We shall be glad to pay it."

A week later another group from the Committee called on the Mayor to say that, if juvenile delinquency was to be curbed, Henderson had to have a child welfare worker. Again, the Mayor interrupted to say, "If you want a child welfare worker, it will add two cents additional per hundred to your tax bill."

The Committee said, "We shall be glad to pay it."

Within a week's time both ordinances were passed, implemented by an ordinance to increase the tax rate by five cents to cover the two programs. The people knew the need. They were willing to pay for their progress.

Another incident will further emphasize this point. In the November, 1946, election an \$8,000,000 bond issue to improve school facilities was presented for approval to the voters of Louisville. In the past, practically every bond issue either in Louisville or in the state of Kentucky had had hard sledding. A few desirable ones were approved, often by collusion on the part of both political parties. It was therefore a considerable

surprise to everyone that this bond issue passed entirely on its own merits by a vote of about six to one.

About a week after the election, the superintendent of Louisville's schools told me that a keen observer had said that he gave a great part of the credit for the success of this vote to the Committee for Kentucky. "What was particularly remarkable," said he, "was the fact that the Committee took no sides in the matter, made no public statement on it, and in no way associated itself with the campaign. But," he added, "the Committee had created in the minds of the people of Louisville such an awareness of the condition of their schools that the passage of the bond issue was a foregone conclusion."

This was why we had been so anxious to create a moral climate. For the greatest progress yet made by man in any field of endeavor has been achieved in the atmosphere of a great moral purpose.

9. WE DARE NOT FAIL

THE fifth and last part of the plan to develop a moral climate for progress in Kentucky was to try to make our people realize the consequences of failure. We felt that, if we could get them to understand the character of the challenge that was facing our democracy, they would stop taking our way of life for granted and eagerly rally to its defense.

There were two major considerations in our thinking in this matter. First, it was our feeling that America in the next ten years was going to be in the keenest competition with Communist Russia, Socialist Britain, and with all the countries of Europe and Asia which were going steadily to the left. The first thing which these countries were doing, or proposing to do, was to improve the conditions of their people, by giving them a better opportunity for education, for health, for welfare, and for economic security and opportunity.

It was our profound conviction that, unless we in America did as good a job for our people as the totalitarian states were proposing for theirs in affording them a chance for a better life, our way of life would be in serious danger. Sooner or later some political dictator would come along with a program which could easily destroy our democracy.

It has been said that the most important problem of the twentieth century—more important even than the problem of the atomic bomb—is the reconciliation between political liberty and economic security. The totalitarians were telling their people that they could achieve economic security only at the expense of political liberty. We deeply believed that we could retain our political liberty and achieve a great measure of economic security. If we failed to achieve it entirely, that seemed to us a small price to pay for retaining our political liberty.

We were convinced that we could win this battle only if our people understood that the American way of life must include the fullest opportunity for ourselves and for our children for better education, for better health, and for economic justice. The only way we could achieve these aims was by working together, determined to achieve them. What the people of Kentucky—what the people of America—want, they will get.

Another idea motivated our thinking: During the past two thousand years of our Christian civilization an intense struggle has been going on between two powerful ideas—the idea of pulling together and the idea of pulling apart. This struggle is being carried on in every local community, in every state throughout the nation, and in every nation throughout the world. On the world level, the idea of pulling apart is symbolized by the atomic bomb; the idea of pulling together, by the United Nations.

To me, the profoundest tragedy of our Christian civilization is that throughout these two thousand years we have devoted the greater part of our effort, our thought, and our care to the idea of pulling apart. We have made of it an art and a science. We have become expert at it. We have become professional at it. Tragically, our approach to the idea of pulling together throughout this time has been weak, bungling, inept, and amateurish.

All of us agree that self-preservation is the strongest instinct in man. It must be obvious that the idea of pulling apart is detrimental to self-preservation, whereas the idea of pulling together is conducive to it.

Isn't this, then, the most important question that we should ask of our Christian civilization: Why is it that in these two thousand years we have been so irrational as to devote most of our time, thought, and care to the idea of pulling apart, when that could so easily destroy us? Why have we done so little with the idea of pulling together, which alone can save our civilization?

I do not profess to know the answer, but I do have my answer. It is that in all these years, because of fear and a sense of insecurity, we have enthroned mistrust, misunderstanding, and hate in our minds and in our hearts. Had we instead enthroned human sympathy, mutual understanding, and trust in our minds and hearts, the history of our Christian civilization would have been profoundly different.

For the first 1,945½ years we were able to survive the struggle between these two ideas. We could pull apart the world over and then, when exhausted, pull together again. Somehow, we always had another chance. But on the morning of August 6, 1945, with the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, a new world began. *Never again shall we have another chance to pull together, once we have pulled apart. If ever again we pull apart in this world, it will be the end of our civilization. This is the most important fact of these 1,945½ years.*

What can be done to insure our chances of survival in this atomic age? If my thesis is correct, we must reverse the irrational process of the past two thousand years. We must have the will to replace fear with courage in our dealings with our fellow men. If we do that, there will naturally develop mutual trust, understanding, and sympathy. We shall have made

supreme, once and for all time, the most powerful idea in the world—the idea of pulling together.

The job cannot be started on the international or even on the national level. It must start in the local community. That is where the Brotherhood of Man begins.

This was the philosophy behind the Committee for Henderson and the Committee for Kentucky. It was our feeling, as we started this great experiment, that if the people of Henderson could learn to work together in mutual confidence and trust the idea would spread to Carrollton, to Murray, to Springfield—in fact, to every Kentucky community. It would hearten people in other states. It might well spread from America to other nations. The people of the world must learn to pull together or perish.

This was the message which we brought to the people of Kentucky. We went everywhere in the state urging the people to pull together, to organize themselves in their local communities for citizen action, and, above all, to understand the consequences of their failure to make democracy work. The message began to sink in.

Here, then, was our five-point plan:

- (1) To get the facts;
- (2) To spread them throughout Kentucky;
- (3) To get the people to organize themselves in their local communities;
- (4) To get the people to be willing to pay for their progress; and
- (5) To make the people understand the consequences of failure.

This was the essence of the plan to create a moral climate for progress in Kentucky. That moral climate now appears to be well established.

And yet, for all the above, it should be clearly understood that the Committee for Kentucky was by no means solely responsible for all the progress that was made during this period, or even for a major portion of it. War-time conditions, the spirit of the times, and, above all, the work of a number of progressive groups which began their labors both before and after the Committee came into being, contributed mightily. But every thinking Kentuckian will affirm that the Committee for Kentucky played a considerable part.

In a great social upsurge it is impossible to evaluate the contribution of any particular group. We of the Committee did not care who got the credit for the progress made. What we were interested in was the progress itself.

10. SOME PEOPLE DON'T LIKE WHAT WE'RE DOING

ONE thing more was necessary to achieve the moral climate for progress—a determination to go forward regardless of obstacles. For a potentially good plan without the spiritual force to drive it is like a beautiful motor of shiny copper and bright blue steel without the electric current to set it in motion. We had to face the fact that there would be plenty of brickbats coming our way and that we had to be prepared for them. Personally, I was prepared. In the department-store business we budget a certain percentage for mark-downs. I budgeted a certain percentage for brickbats. It is good to be able to report that I am still within that budget.

One of the best things ever written on this subject was a piece called "The Reformer," by Richard S. Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League. It is well worth reproducing here in full:

The Reformer

A reformer is one who sets forth cheerfully toward sure defeat. His serene persistence against stone walls invites derision from those who have never been touched by his religion and do not know what

fun it is. He never seems victorious, for if he were visibly winning he would forthwith cease to be dubbed "reformer."

It is his peculiar function to embrace the hopeless cause when it can win no other friends and when its obvious futility repels that thick-necked, practical, timorous type of citizen to whom the outward appearance of success is so dear.

Yet, in time, the reformer's little movement becomes respectable and his little minority proves that it can grow, and presently the statesman joins in and takes all the credit, cheerfully handed to him by the reformer as bribe for his support. And then comes the politician, rushing grandly to the succor of the victor. And all the crowd!

The original reformer is lost in the shuffle then, but he doesn't care. For, as the great bandwagon which he started goes thundering past with trumpets, the crowd in the intoxication of triumph leans over to jeer at him—a forlorn and lonely crank, confidently mustering a pitiful little odd-lot of followers along the roadside and setting them marching, while over their heads he lifts the curious banner of a new crusade!

We had to get ready, almost immediately, for active opposition. For fifty years Kentucky had been a sleeping giant. So long as the giant continued to sleep, he did not bother people much. But when we began to wake the giant by going throughout the state crying "Wake Up, Kentucky!" the giant began to stir—then to march. A marching giant will tread on people's toes. This giant was no exception.

The reaction against the work of the Committee assumed many forms. At first, according to custom in Kentucky, political motives were attributed to everything we did. But the opposition began to develop a sense of frustration when it found that people of all shades of political opinion were actively supporting the Committee. That frustration deepened when it became clear that we would make no political demands of any kind, even though after a time we had the power to do so.

Some people went around saying that we were out for personal gain. That notion, too, was soon dispelled when it became

apparent that the Committee, though a lusty, growing infant, had little money.

Some well-meaning people were shocked, as was the lady who, at a public meeting, said to me: "When I have occasion to scold my children I always take them inside my house. I never scold them in public. Why do you so speak out in public against the shortcomings of Kentucky?" To which I replied, "I, too, have children, and when I want to scold them I take them inside my house, out of hearing of the passer-by. However, in this case, our house is the state of Kentucky. Its windows are broken and its roof is leaking. Everything we say inside can be heard outside. If we fix the house, we won't have to worry about where we do the scolding."

On the whole we felt that the opposition was good for us. For, in a democracy, those who would go forward should constantly be subjected to criticism of their direction in order for them to keep on the course.

Some of the opposition came from well-meaning people who lived in a sheltered world—who were escapists and could not bear to hear unpalatable truths. I remember an amusing incident in point. A few months after an article appeared in *Collier's*, telling the Kentucky story in all its unpleasantness, I was invited to address the annual conference of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs. The president of the Federation was a director of the Committee and an ardent supporter of it. Unfortunately, she fell ill and appointed a substitute to preside. The introduction this lady gave me is one that I shall never forget. This was it, in toto: "Ladies: The next speaker will have much to do to restore himself in my estimation—Mr. Schacter!"

Some people, especially those who had left the state for better opportunity elsewhere, were angry with us because we had deprived them of the pleasure of bragging about the glamorous Kentucky from which they had come—the Kentucky of blue-

grass, of mint juleps, of fast horses, and of beautiful women.

I recall talking with a prominent attorney in Washington. He had been the beneficiary of a Kentucky elementary, high-school, and college education. The state had spent a considerable sum of money to prepare him for his life's work. After he had been admitted to the Bar, he moved to Washington and began a successful career as a lawyer.

He was furious with us for that old bromidic reason that we were "washing our dirty linen in public." He was proud of Kentucky—from a distance—and he took me severely to task for the tack which the Committee had taken. I said to him, "You are one out of four Kentuckians who has reaped the benefits of a Kentucky education and who has then left the state to seek opportunity elsewhere. That is certainly your privilege and your right. It is a fine thing that you are doing so well here in Washington.

"But what have you done to help your state since you left it? What have you done for Kentucky to repay her for the education she gave you? There is now in Kentucky a group of people who have banded together to try to do something to improve conditions for those Kentuckians who have remained. And you are angry with them because they are depriving you of the opportunity to brag about the state you came from. When you can demonstrate that you have made some repayment in service to your state for what it has done for you, you can then come into court with clean hands. For the time being, the fact that you have to give up, temporarily, the opportunity to brag about glamorous Kentucky is a small price for you to pay for the progress which we are trying to achieve." He remained silent.

Some opposition came from individuals who, though they had no specific economic interest in the status quo, were so satisfied with it as a habit of life that they were constitutionally opposed to change. These people had hardening of the social

arteries to such an extent that there was nothing that anyone could do to budge them from their position. There was not much use in trying.

But the most powerful opposition came from the well-to-do, particularly from the banking and manufacturing groups as previously noted. We had made every effort to work with them, to no avail. Some of them looked on us with suspicion as left-wingers because of the labor organizations and the Negro groups which were participating in our work. How they could have expected a progressive movement in a state with a total population of about three million people to get anywhere without the support of its 200,000 members of organized labor and of its 215,000 Negro citizens is difficult to understand.

Others looked upon us as a bunch of "do-gooders," and we were thus pilloried publicly by a few hardened reactionaries. Imagine anyone trying to make "doing good" something to be ashamed of!

There were three seemingly valid reasons for the opposition of the bankers and the manufacturers. First, these men were beneficiaries of the status quo and understandably did not want any change. Second, they thought that progress in Kentucky would mean more taxes; since they had the money, they felt that they would be called upon to pay the greater part of the bill. Third, they really believed that we were giving Kentucky a bad name by publicizing the truth and that this would prevent industry from coming into the state.

We tried our utmost to answer these objections, wherever possible, by an appeal to reason. On the first issue, we tried to convince the opposition that the best way of maintaining the status quo was to make constant compromise with progress and even to be willing to make a substantial investment in it. We tried to make them see that the greatest danger to the status quo was the status quo itself.

Several years ago Walter Lippmann made this point strikingly clear in a penetrating article. He said that the American businessman holds his and the world's fate in his hands because, of all the world's great powers, the United States alone has no governing class which has a social position and a political power superior to that of the business community.

Mr. Lippmann quoted the eminent French statesman, de Tocqueville, who some eighty years before had concluded that the British aristocracy survived because its members had accepted heavy burdens in order that they might be allowed to continue to govern, whereas the members of the French aristocracy had lost their heads because they preferred to cling to their privileges and immunities.

United States business would perish or survive, according to Mr. Lippmann, depending on how it chose between the same essential alternatives today. But, he continued, the great danger was that United States businessmen would unwittingly suffer the fate of the nobility of France—unless they stopped brooding over their grievances, and their troubles, and their lost prerogatives, and their *diminishing* immunities, and concentrated upon the commanding position they really held in world affairs.

It is my deep conviction that if our American businessmen fully realized the validity of Mr. Lippmann's argument there would develop in this country a group of business statesmen who would be the envy of the world. I once defined a business statesman as a man who had the courage and the vision to take an *immediate temporary loss* for the sake of a future permanent gain. I am confident that our businessmen, if they but understood the issue, would be willing to make a heavy investment in progress, even though it meant some temporary losses. They would find, as the permanent gain, that their position in our national life had been made secure for a long time to come.

Unfortunately there are not yet many business statesmen in our American communities, but they are beginning to appear.

On the second issue—that of paying more taxes—we tried to reason with the opposition, and particularly with those in and around Louisville, on terms of enlightened self-interest. The people of Louisville and Jefferson County pay about 33 per cent of the state's taxes. They get back about 11 per cent of the total tax money from the state. In other words, the people of Louisville subsidize the rest of the state to the extent of about 22 per cent. This, in terms of a \$45,000,000 annual budget, amounts to some \$10,000,000 a year.

So long as conditions in Kentucky remain as they are, that \$10,000,000 subsidy, a good portion of which our business community in Louisville has to pay, will continue to grow. Would it not be far better if the people out in the state could be made more self-reliant and self-supporting and so diminish the drain on the Louisville taxpayer? Would it not be far more intelligent for Louisville businessmen to encourage and support every effort toward building up that self-reliance? Were they to do so, they would receive a desirable extra dividend in the form of a better understanding between Louisville and the rest of the state.

It has been the American pattern that predominantly rural states usually have one great metropolitan center. Nearly always, where this is so, there is misunderstanding and distrust between the big city and the rest of the state. Kentucky is no exception. Until recent years, regrettably, little has been done by either side to try to reach a better understanding. Since the rural sections usually have control of the legislatures, the metropolitan center is often discriminated against in many ways; legislative and otherwise. If the businessmen of the metropolitan areas were to realize how much it was to their interest to give a helping hand to the rural communities, they would go all out to join every progressive movement in this direction.

With respect to the third complaint made by the opposition, that we were giving Kentucky a bad name by publicizing the facts, it was our conviction that it was far more sensible to tell the truth about Kentucky and let the outside world know that we were endeavoring to correct our faults than to try to hide the truth. We felt it would be a great mistake to cover up and to invite new industry to come into the state only to find itself handicapped by working people who were poorly educated, had little training, and were backward in other respects. Our conservative opposition strongly disagreed with us and made that a major issue.

If they frankly face the facts, the manufacturers and the bankers will realize that they have far more to gain by joining forces with the farmers, the workers, the teachers, and the others who compose the Committee than by opposing them. If we all work together, there is no limit to what we can accomplish for our state. It is this thought which keeps us constantly and earnestly seeking an area of agreement with them. I hope that in time we may find it. For there must be one thing on which the most conservative Kentuckian can agree with the most liberal—namely, that Kentucky can, should, and must be made a progressive state.

At times the obstacles to waking up the people of the state seemed backbreaking. Yet, even though the going was tough, we did, on occasion, get some fun out of it—as in the case of the celebrated Kentucky-Tennessee bluegrass feud.

A newspaper reporter telephoned me one day to say that an Associated Press dispatch had just been received to the effect that the Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of Tennessee had stated that Tennessee had four times as much bluegrass as Kentucky. This statement was published in a booklet called *The Horse and Its Heritage*. Tennessee had become well known

for its famous "walking horse"—a specially gaited animal which had come into great favor in that part of the country. It was in the course of the story about the walking horse that the bluegrass figures were compared.

The reporter wanted to know what we were going to do about it. I asked why he had contacted me in the matter. He said, "Aren't you the president of the Committee for Kentucky?" I said, "Yes, but our job is to find out what is wrong with Kentucky and try to correct it, not to uphold the fair name of Kentucky's bluegrass." He said, "Well, we've got to tell them something—we can't let them get away with it."

I thought for a moment and said, "Suppose you tell them that we can't question their statistics, because I don't believe they would have published them unless they were true. However, I don't think that it is a matter of quantity. I think it is a matter of quality. There is something in the bluegrass of Kentucky which makes horses want to run. The bluegrass in Tennessee makes horses want only to walk." That duly went back to Tennessee over the Associated Press wires.

For the next several weeks over these wires there developed a "feud" between Kentucky and Tennessee which afforded both states considerable amusement. One person, presumably as the result of an unhappy experience at the race track, vowed that some Tennessee horses could walk faster than some Kentucky horses could run. And so the controversy raged!

When it was over, the Commissioner of Agriculture of Tennessee wrote me that he hoped that we had enjoyed the "feud" as much as they had—that they had printed 5,000 copies of the booklet and as a result of the "feud" the demand from all over the country was so great that they now had to print 10,000 more. Thus the Committee for Kentucky had made a real contribution—to Tennessee!

In March, 1946, an article called "Weep No More, Kentucky" appeared in *Collier's*. It told the story of the Committee's work up to that time and included some of the unpleasant facts about Kentucky. The article aroused a veritable storm of protest all over the state. We were deluged with letters from many places in Kentucky and from many other states.

Although we had anticipated the storm, we were not prepared for the pleasurable surprise that the letters averaged about five to one in approval of the Committee's work and of the line on which it was proceeding. This proved to us beyond a doubt that the people of Kentucky could "take it" and were willing to face the facts, however unpleasant they might be.

Perhaps the greatest storm of protest came from the people of a small Kentucky community which had been commented on unfavorably in the article. Twice, citizen groups from this community called on the officers and directors of the Committee to protest the article, although the Committee could not possibly have been held responsible for its contents. Finally, several people who were mentioned in the article commenced a lawsuit for libel against *Collier's* for printing the article and against the president of the Committee for distributing reprints.

During a hectic meeting between the Directors of the Committee and the representatives from the community in question, one of the Committee's directors said, "We of the Committee are indeed sorry that the people of your community have been so upset by this article. Yet it is my opinion that in the end, despite this seemingly unfavorable publicity, your community will profit from it."

Sure enough, several months later, it was reported in a bulletin from the Governor's Post-War Advisory Planning Commission that some of the important groups in that community, under the leadership of the Lions Club, had banded together

to improve the conditions there. It seems unlikely that this would have happened but for the article.

Though practically all of the Kentucky press heartily approved of the job we were doing, a small minority was extremely bitter about the Committee, and particularly about me.

In John Gunther's book, *Inside U.S.A.*, the first two pages of the chapter on Kentucky refer to the Committee and some of the facts that it had found. One Kentucky editor was so incensed over this that he wrote:

It is pretty obvious that Gunther got his information for Chapter 39 of *Inside U.S.A.* from a merchant in Louisville who has been doing a lot of talking about what's wrong with Kentucky and making a lot of people mad by doing it. Indeed, Chapter 39 reads like a page out of a campaign book gotten up by the erroneously named "Committee for Kentucky."

The author of *Inside U.S.A.* made it plain that he either personally conferred with Harry W. Schacter, of Louisville, or received in some other way from the Louisville merchant material for his diatribe labeled "Romance and Reality in Kentucky."

If Gunther, with malice aforethought, set out to slander Kentucky, he certainly could not have found a more willing collaborator in his effort than Harry W. Schacter. Nobody else could have answered the question, "Who runs Kentucky?" quite so well as Schacter probably did for Gunther when he said, "It doesn't run—it limps." Nor could anyone else have said, with a greater display of ego, that Kentucky's chief distinction is "Braggadocio."

These are typical Schacter phrases. He has used them over and over for several years when speaking about Kentucky and Kentuckians. We've heard him utter them too many times not to be able to trace them back to him. They bear the Schacter label even when found in disguise as they are in Chapter 39 of *Inside U.S.A.*

As much as I disliked Chapter 39 of Gunther's book, I urge that every Kentuckian buy, borrow or steal a copy of *Inside U.S.A.* and read it. If it doesn't make 9 out of 10 Kentuckians who read it fighting mad I will be badly fooled. If it doesn't make them want to choke to death the pernicious effort of the Louisville department

store manager to make himself the "saviour" of Kentucky, I'll eat every page of the chapter.

There was not much use to tell this editor that his facts were wrong, that the phrases which he attributed to me and had "heard me utter too many times" had never been made by me, and that I had met Gunther but once at a luncheon with a dozen other people. It probably would not have made any difference to him, for it is well known that a man will do anything in the world to preserve his prejudices.

Another attack which was particularly vicious was made by the editor of another country newspaper, during the campaign for a new state constitution in the fall of 1947. This editor wrote a front-page editorial reading in part:

Assumption has long prevailed that "murder will out," and may we add that the same is true of any attempt to murder the rights of people even though they be as incompetent as a self-constituted "Committee for Kentucky," would have one believe.

This reference is made here since it became known that one Harry Schaeter (the name is an elongation of the odious name "Schaot," who was head leader of German atrocities) gave out an interview to the New York Times, issue of October 31, in which he indicated that if a new Constitution is adopted the first objective of the "Committee" would be to load Kentucky taxpayers with a bonded indebtedness of from 250 million to 500 million dollars. That "release" was not given to Kentucky newspapers for fear some not so ignorant Kentuckians might read it. Not until last Sunday did the Courier-Journal publish a diluted version of that interview.

So much for the principal objective of the Conventionists as it affects the State at large.

The . . . News would request the earnest attention of the people of this county to the fact that adoption of a new Constitution as proposed by the "Committee" would mean the MERGER OF COUNTIES. The Courier-Journal, ring-tailed leader of the Conventionists, has already advocated that the total number of Kentucky counties be reduced to THIRTY!

That would mean the ABOLISHMENT of . . . County. It would

mean the end of . . . as a County seat. Probably the old courthouse would be used as barracks for the minions of the Herr Schacterites.

Again, there was not much point in attempting to answer the attack, for it would have made no difference to that editor's prejudiced mind. But the fact was that the suggestion contained in this New York Times interview, which according to the editor quoted above was not given to Kentucky newspapers "for fear that some not so ignorant Kentuckians might read it," had first been presented before the joint session of the entire Kentucky Legislature a year and a half before and had been extensively reported in the press throughout the state.

People who believe in doing something for progress often find the going hard. But there are many compensations. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once said, "The deepest satisfactions that can come to a man are not the acclaim of his contemporaries, important though that may be, but the knowledge that, perhaps 100 years from today, people who never even heard of him will be marching to the measured tread of his thought."

We of the Committee for Kentucky would be content with that.

11. SOME DO

IT IS well known that those people who are against an idea are much more vocal and vociferous than those who are for it. In the case of the Committee for Kentucky, those who were opposed to the idea were particularly vocal. The attacks were often extremely bitter and tended to give a wrong impression of the strength of the opposition. Fortunately those who were for the idea made themselves heard time and again and gave us heart to go on. This favorable opinion came not only from within but from without the state.

The present chapter is, in a measure, a testimonial to the work of the Committee. Though under ordinary circumstances it would seem to be in bad taste to include testimonials, I am doing so only because it will tend to show the validity of our work and because it should hearten others who undertake similar tasks.

For example, we had taken the position that our telling the truth about Kentucky would not have an unfavorable reaction on business outside of Kentucky. Recently we had a striking proof tending to support that contention. A Louisville dealer who handles specialties in building supplies was constantly being taken to task by various manufacturers—whose lines he

handles exclusively in Kentucky—because he did not produce enough sales. He finally hit upon the idea of sending to these manufacturers the reports of the Committee for Kentucky. His purpose was to show them that adverse conditions in the state prevented him from producing the volume of sales they had expected.

The reaction he got was most interesting and, from our point of view, encouraging. One letter in particular seemed to sum up this reaction. It was from the vice-president in charge of sales of a metal manufacturer in Wisconsin. It follows in part:

I have in the past received many well-prepared brochures from Chambers of Commerce and state associations outlining in fabulous figures and glowing phrases the accomplishments of their cities or states, but this is the first time to my memory that I have ever received material such as this, outlining in all of its terrible detail everything that is wrong with the state.

After the first shock, I realized that this is a good, healthy way for the State of Kentucky to approach its problem, that is, to get the bad facts right out on the table and look at them. This should bring results and I certainly hope so.

This, we think, will be the reaction of most of the intelligent businessmen who want to come into Kentucky. This is the reaction which may ultimately prove to be the economic salvation of our state.

Our appearance before the joint session of the Legislature in January, 1946, had had a good effect on many of its members. Henry Arrowood, State Representative from Paintsville, stated publicly that this was his third session in the Assembly and that it was the most important session he had yet sat through. The then Lieutenant Governor, Kenneth Tuggle, of Barbourville, said:

This report presents Kentucky's problems in such a manner that those who are trying to advance Kentucky will respond to the leadership the Committee gives.

The work of the Committee had by this time made a deep impression on a number of distinguished Kentuckians outside the legislature. For example, Jesse Stuart, Kentucky's foremost novelist—author of *Taps for Private Tussie* and other important works—wrote:

The work of the Committee for Kentucky is one of the most promising, if not the most promising, thing that has happened in Kentucky.

Dr. Philip E. Blackerby, the then State Health Commissioner, said:

The Committee for Kentucky is a splendid example of democracy in action, as it encourages the people to diagnose and to treat intelligently the state's social and economic illnesses.

Dr. W. P. King, then Executive Secretary of the Kentucky Education Association, said:

The Committee for Kentucky has undertaken its task with prophetic vision. If the leaders and the led in Kentucky will follow the trail which has been blazed for them, the entire state may arise Phoenix-like from its apathy and assume a commanding place among the states.

At a public meeting in Washington, John Sherman Cooper, the then junior United States Senator from Kentucky, said:

All of us can have confidence in the men who are getting the facts. Public inertia is the greatest obstacle to progress. The Committee for Kentucky has made notable progress in overcoming that indifference.

Senator Alben W. Barkley, later Vice-President of the United States, saw the Committee for Kentucky in a larger light. He said:

As people learn to work together in communities and states they pave the way toward the eventual elimination of war from the world. It is not enough to boast about Kentucky unless its citizens attack

the problems of illiteracy, unhealthful conditions, and other conditions that hold the state back from its rightful place in the nation. The Committee for Kentucky is to be congratulated for the splendid work it is doing in Kentucky.

A great social movement often rests on a few granite pillars, without which the movement might be severely handicapped. One such tower of strength was Barry Bingham, president and editor of the *Courier-Journal*. The moral support which he gave the work of the Committee was literally its Rock of Gibraltar. In addition, he backed that up with the support of his great newspapers and his radio station, as well as with important sums of money. No one will ever fully know the debt which the Committee owes to this great citizen of Kentucky.

The recognition received by the Committee from outside of the state was every bit as impressive as that from within. David E. Lilienthal, then Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority and later Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, after he had read one of our "Reports of Progress" wrote:

The "report of progress" of the Committee for Kentucky is well named. It really is a story to lift one's heart and bolster confidence—in the midst of news from other places that does neither. You and your fellow workers are doing a historic job. You are building the foundation of a better community—that's really progress.

Marquis Childs, the famed columnist, made a special trip to Kentucky to study the work of the Committee at first hand and wrote two articles on it for his syndicated column.

There have been feature articles about the Committee by the Associated Press, by the United Press, in the *Christian Science Monitor*, in Kiplinger's magazine, in the *New York Times*, in *Collier's*, in *The Nation*, in the *Magazine Digest*, and in a number of other publications.

The *Los Angeles Daily News*, one of California's distinguished newspapers, said, in part, in an editorial:

The Committee for Kentucky, representing the great organizations and institutions of the state, not only did something but they are continuing to do something. It wasn't something political for it was a nonpartisan project. It wasn't something religious for the clergymen and lay leaders were taking care of that. It was something that can best be described as socio-economic—a sort of recharging of the batteries of the state's civic morale. . . .

It occurs to us that we in California could start with an examination of what the "Committee for Kentucky" has done and see if some of its ideas would be of help in California. From that we may well proceed to participation in the work of the "Committee for America." Sometimes we all despair of committees. We seem to do everything by committee. But until we find a better way we will have to continue to use the committee. If we abandon the committee idea we incur the risk of having things done by one man who would too often be concerned with increasing his own power rather than advancing the general welfare.

California and America may both be in need of a committee right now.

So great was the interest in other states that within a period of less than a year's time I was asked to tell the Committee for Kentucky story before important groups in such widely separated communities as Atlanta, West Point, Manlius, Nashville, New York, Schenectady, Newark, and Washington.

The National Planning Association sent an evaluating committee to Kentucky to study the work of the Committee at first hand. The following is the last paragraph in their report:

Your committee closes its report with a deep and sincere acknowledgment of the stimulation and inspiration it received from the evangelistic and dynamic fervor evidenced in all relationships. Officers, staff members, and Committee members believe beyond any doubt in the civic worth of what they are doing. Your committee in three days found themselves agreeing that Kentucky was on the march, and the Committee for Kentucky was in the lead.

An amusing comment on the work of the Committee appeared in the June 20, 1945, issue of *Variety*, one of the most

important publications in the entertainment field. This concerned the WHAS radio program, "Wake Up, Kentucky." That paper uses a vivid language of its own. Here is the first paragraph:

Here's a potent stánze which pulls no punches, and has an adult approach which indicates that WHAS program policy makers believe that radio has grown up and can take the steer by the horns, rope and tie him, and bring the critter under control, even though the method may seem harsh.

One day we received a copy of a broadcast given over the New York Times radio station WQXR by Algernon D. Black, leader of the New York Society for Ethical Culture. The broadcast was entitled, "What is Loyalty?" At one point of the broadcast Mr. Black said: "If we are loyal we should not be afraid to uncover facts concerning the life of our people." He then proceeded to give a brief outline of the work of the Committee for Kentucky and a recognition of its loyalty to the people of Kentucky by giving them the facts.

One thing that pleased us as much as any other was the October, 1947, issue of the bulletin of the Extension Division of the University of Virginia, called "New Dominion Series." This bulletin was entitled *Facts to Folks to Action* and subtitled *Committee for Kentucky Plans and Works for a Better State*. The entire pamphlet was devoted to the work of the Committee for Kentucky. For a great many years there has been a sort of pleasant rivalry between Kentucky and Virginia. Virginia looks a little patronizingly at Kentucky, since Kentucky is an offshoot of that state. For Kentucky, therefore, to get such recognition from Virginia—that was news!

Within the past year, an outline of the work of the Committee was sent to a number of distinguished Americans for their comment. Dr. Julius Schreiber, Director of the National

Institute of Social Relations, commented on it, in part as follows:

This is indeed a most inspirational and instructive manuscript. Anyone who reads it will immediately profit from the experiences which you have had and will also have some very good notions as to how he might proceed in a similar situation in his own community or state. This should be in the hands of thousands of people—I am thinking now particularly of community leaders who are laboring with similar problems in their own community or state.

Dr. Paul Schroeder, internationally famous psychiatrist, who heard the story of the Committee for Kentucky in Atlanta, Georgia, said:

If I had heard nothing other than "Kentucky Pulls Itself Up by Its Own Bootstraps," my trip from Chicago to Atlanta would have been worth while.

-Mrs. Jess S. Ogden, University of Virginia, made this comment:

Seldom have I read anything with greater interest. I am going to tell you later about an idea that has occurred to my husband and me about interpreting your programs to the adult educational world in terms of the educational technique that you have used.

Professor Wayland J. Hayes, professor of sociology at Vanderbilt University, wrote:

The story of the Committee for Kentucky was an unusually stimulating experience. It is bearing fruit in the thinking and discussion among the students. I feel sure that we may collect results with compound interest in the future.

E. J. Coil, Director of the National Planning Association, commented:

The Annual Conference of the National Planning Association ended on a note of conviction that action was necessary to bring to others your experience in obtaining the democratic participation of people in the betterment of their own communities.

Gordon R. Clapp, Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, wrote:

Your report, "Kentucky Pulls Itself Up by Its Own Bootstraps," is a thrilling story. While the factual enumeration of results listed on pages 37 to 39 is modestly termed "comparatively little progress," to me it presents evidence of significant advancement in a short space of four years.

Richard S. Childs, Chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League, said:

I think your Committee for Kentucky is one of the most thrilling things that is going on in America.

It should be repeated that not all industrialists and not all bankers opposed us. Some distinguished representatives of both groups were on our side from the beginning. It had been our feeling that a good deal of the opposition from these groups came through a lack of understanding of our aims and purposes. Therefore we had a real educative job to do to get them to understand what we were after.

After several years, some of those businessmen who had opposed us at the beginning seemed to have arrived at a more sympathetic understanding of our objectives. Noteworthy among these was the treasurer of one of the most important corporations in Kentucky. He had just finished reading, for the first time, a complete résumé of the work of the Committee, and he was moved to write me an unsolicited letter. Because this letter is so important in the light of its human understanding, it is reproduced:

I appreciate very much your letter of December 24, enclosing to me a copy of your résumé of the activities of the Committee for Kentucky. I have read it with a great deal of interest, and I am amazed at the job that has been done and the extent of the activities of your committee. I am delighted to see the change that has been made in the activity of the Committee.

To be honest and frank, I did not approve of your first approach. Perhaps I was a little short-sighted now that I've got a broader picture of the objective. Hardly anyone likes criticism and I'm not any exception, but I am ready to say that possibly I was wrong—maybe you were right.

Regardless of how I felt, or how others feel about the first step, certainly I do think that the second and third steps are in the right direction, and Kentucky as a whole will benefit greatly from the work that is being done, and perhaps we are going to profit from the first step that was made. And, while you state a great many people here in Louisville do not approve of the program, I think the disapproval was of the first step. I don't believe that any real thinking person could disapprove of the helpful, progressive, constructive program that the Committee is now launched on.

These things that you are now doing will help the state, and certainly anything that helps Kentucky is going to help Jefferson County and Louisville. We stand to gain the most, because our activities here are much larger than anywhere else. I really and sincerely think that you do merit the appreciation of all of us for the time that you have spent, the thought that you have given, and the clarity with which you have expressed and presented your "Blueprint for a Great Kentucky."

One of the top officials of an important Louisville company—the largest of its kind in the world—was invited to attend one of our report meetings. He, among many others, had been critical of the work of the Committee. Afterward he volunteered a letter, reading in part as follows:

Thank you very kindly for inviting me to your very interesting meeting Friday night. I was very much impressed. . . .

I was impressed with the fact that very few businessmen were at your meeting. Your Committee is influential and apparently will be more so. I think that the Board of Trade, Chambers of Commerce, and businessmen generally make a mistake not to take an active part in your work. . . .

I think that the Board of Trade and the Chamber of Commerce would do well to work with you and your Committee, because satis-

factory results can more nearly be accomplished where people work together than where they stay apart and criticize each other.

Since we had been striving to get that very thought over to the men in our business community for four years, you can imagine with what deep satisfaction we received this letter.

Important as it was for us to know how people of prominence, both in and out of Kentucky, felt about the Committee, it was even more important for us to know how the man in the street and in the fields felt about us. The Kentucky newspapers, and especially the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, have a point-of-view column which serves as an excellent mirror of public opinion. Here are excerpts from a few of the many point-of-view letters about the work of the Committee:

As the father of three children, I frequently speculate on the future of Kentucky and the lives my two boys and baby girl may lead ten years hence. . . .

Children will pay twice, if progress is not made soon all along the line. They will suffer the lack of good schools, good homes, good recreational facilities, and good hospital care. Then, when they wake up to their predicament they will pay the "excess negligence taxes" on the common woe we have passed on.

For the sake of the children, if not solely for ourselves, we owe every effort to see that our children get proper teaching, homes, and care. The Committee for Kentucky is marching now. There is need for many volunteer "riflemen."

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It's hard for us to realize, here in the heart of the rich Blue Grass region, that Kentucky is so backward a state as the over-all figures show it to be. But, since we can't secede from the backward sections, it seems to be up to us to raise standards all over the state,

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I have read with interest the report of the Committee for Kentucky and the future resulting therefrom. . . .

The truth is that the glory and glamor of Kentucky, like that of

the Virginia plantation, the Indian hero, and the old Southern colonel, are purely a literary fiction. Kentucky has always had more gullies and red hills than bluegrass meadows. . . .

Has the state awakened at last to the fact that political squabbling and factional control simply got it nowhere?

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That most amazing, frank, illuminating article in *Collier's*, "Weep No More, Kentucky," should be read and re-read not only by every Kentuckian, but by every American citizen. It should be put in circular form and distributed to all the churches, every home, and every schoolroom; and not only that, it should become the chief reading lesson in every school, till the facts percolate through every man, woman, and child in Kentucky.

A mountain of gold could not value that article to Kentuckians alone. . . . Nothing could have been said or done that will so cause this great sleeping giant, Kentucky, to arouse herself to conquer such abominable conditions that so long have been a curse to the State, abounding in striking scenic beauty, and wonderfully blessed with good and kind-hearted people, the most hospitable on earth.

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As citizens of Kentucky we were both shocked and angered by the article in *Collier's* entitled "Weep No More, Kentucky," shocked that such conditions should exist and angered that public officials should not be doing more to correct them. . . .

We are thankful that Kentucky still has enough public-minded citizens, who are willing to look beneath the veneer and to see conditions as they actually exist. We would prefer not to hear any more speeches from supposedly patriotic Kentuckians about what a glorious State we have, unless they are doing all in their power to make it more glorious.

Another excellent means of checking up on our work were the visits of our Executive Director to a number of grass-roots communities. During these visits he took a sampling of opinion to see what the people knew of the Committee for Kentucky and whether or not they approved of its program. In five

counties of southeastern Kentucky, which is approximately two hundred miles from Louisville, the location of the Committee's state office, he was amazed to find that in every community from 75 to 90 per cent of those polled had a fair knowledge of the activities of the Committee and generally agreed that the organization had been a tremendous force for progress in the state.

We of the Committee had started out on an uncharted path. We were not always sure that we were on the right track. Sometimes we thought we had lost our way. We were too close to the job for any real objectivity. Therefore, those judgments from people both in high positions and in ordinary circumstances seemed to us to be an affirmation that we were on the right track. If ever you have set out on an unknown road, you will understand how necessary and heartening such an affirmation can be.

Part II

KENTUCKY ON THE MARCH

12. THE GIANT STIRS

AFTER a considerable period of crying "Wake Up, Kentucky," through press and radio, through reports and speeches, we began to get the reaction. We knew that it would be a strong one—that it would be a reaction both pro and con. We were confident that the reaction in favor of our program would far outweigh the reaction against it. But we knew, too, that the reaction against it would be far more vocal and far more bitter. What we were basically interested in was getting a reaction either way, for once the people were aroused, they would start moving forward.

The favorable reaction was best summed up in an editorial on Sunday, December 2, 1945, in the Henderson Gleaner and Journal, which follows:

Reconstruction days are upon us.

A new world is in the making which must be a better world to compensate for what we have suffered.

It is good to see the people of Kentucky catch the general spirit of house-cleaning, and the desire to plan for a new and greater Kentucky. We are proud of Kentucky. We are proud of its great personalities, its historic place in the development of America, the idyllic charm of its countryside.

We think that the record of Kentucky and Kentuckians' part in

helping to win the war is worthy of her finest traditions. Now, with the war over, we are glad to see coming out of the wrappers a blueprint for a Greater Kentucky, thanks to the Committee for Kentucky, an inspired organization. . . .

This carries no taint of politics or personal ambition. It is a people's movement, started by public-spirited citizens and backed by 56 established organizations, representing a membership in excess of 350,000. That is encouraging.

What Kentuckians really want they will get. The Committee for Kentucky with its affiliate organizations, promises a bright post-war future for the Commonwealth. . . .

It does not disturb us that the groundwork being completed by the Committee is in the nature of fact finding and that some of the facts are like strong, black medicine, hard to take. But the facts are good for what ails us.

Conceded that we get no pleasure in seeing in print that there is a greater percentage of illiteracy in Kentucky than in any other State in the Union, save one. To read the truth is painful to the eyes. It pricks our pride. But there is no use hiding our heads in the sand on the matter. The truth about educational conditions in Kentucky has gone out over the country long before the report being made by the Committee for Kentucky. Reports on education have been assembled for years in Washington, and Kentucky's lowly place among the states is known in every other state in the Union if not known at home. . . .

So, let the facts come out. We need them for a fully alerted public. A fully aroused electorate, working on a constructive statewide plan, can do more for spreading the name and fame of Kentucky than can be accomplished by a futile attempt to suppress the facts.

Let the Committee hew to the line, let Kentuckians roll up their sleeves and go after the situation, and the state's fame will take care of itself.

The work of the Committee was beginning to bear fruit. The people were more and more becoming aware of the facts. They were getting over their lethargy, their apathy, and their indif-

ference. Things were beginning to happen. Kentucky was indeed waking up.

In May, 1946, there was held at the University of Kentucky, under the auspices of the Committee, the first farm housing conference of its kind ever held in America. So great was the national interest in this project that the president and the executive director of the National Committee on Housing were present. So was the then Federal Housing Administrator.

The National Committee on Housing published the results of the Conference in a pamphlet and distributed it throughout America. We of the Committee for Kentucky took intense pride in this project. It had been our observation that everything worth while usually starts in some other fellow's state. We were glad that here was something new and significant that had started in our own.

In May, 1946, a Conference on Urban Housing in Kentucky was held in Louisville under the auspices of the Committee for Kentucky, the University of Louisville, and the National Committee on Housing. Wilson W. Wyatt, then Federal Housing Administrator and Expediter, was to have delivered the principal address at the Conference but was prevented from doing so at the last minute by the necessity of appearing before a Congressional committee. Lee Coulson, then head of Radio Station WHAS, saved the day for us. He had Mr. Wyatt go to a friendly radio station in Washington and make a transcription of his talk. The transcription was flown to Louisville. Mr. Coulson arranged to have the play-back machine at the Conference. At the proper place in the program Mr. Wyatt addressed the Conference—proving that if one person cannot be in two places at the same time at least his voice can.

These were but a few of the hundreds of happenings—conferences, meetings, and other projects launched by the Committee in a determined attempt to translate democratic faith

into democratic action. The response became more and more heart-warming as time went on.

Perhaps the most valuable dividend from the work of the Committee in the first few years of its life was a better understanding among the leaders of the different state groups. At the beginning, labor looked with suspicion upon agriculture. Agriculture mistrusted labor. And, as is often the case, such mistrust was based on a lack of understanding rather than for any real reason. That lack of understanding was aggravated by the fact that sometimes the legislative interests of each group seemingly clashed with those of the others.

Early in the work of the Committee we realized that the only way to break down this wall of suspicion and mistrust was to bring together the leaders of these factions. Accordingly I invited to lunch one of the most important labor leaders and one of the most important farm leaders in the state. It was interesting to watch their reactions. Doubt and suspicion were written over the faces of both. Each seemed to wonder what the other was up to, what his angle was. Neither remotely understood at the time that the sole purpose of the meeting was a better understanding.

At a meeting in my office a year and a half later, this labor leader unexpectedly turned to the farm leader and said, "For the first time in my eight years' career as a leader of labor, I am beginning to understand the problems of the farmer." The Farm Bureau man replied, "For the first time in my five years' work with the farm group, I am beginning to understand the problems of labor." To this, I fervently added, "If the Committee for Kentucky had done nothing but enable you two men to make these statements, it would have fully justified its existence to date."

This intergroup understanding touched not only the labor and the farm groups but also a number of others. For example,

the state health department had for some time conducted a health program in the schools. The state education department had also conducted a similar program. Often the two overlapped and got in each other's way. Fortunately the State Director of County Health Work and the Director of Public Relations for the Kentucky Education Association were both directors of the Committee for Kentucky. As such, they worked closely together on the state's problems.

About a year after such collaboration in the Committee, the State Director of County Health Work voluntarily announced at one meeting that as a direct result of his working with the education people in the Committee for Kentucky, both had ironed out their differences satisfactorily and had now developed a joint, integrated health program for the schools. This, he said, was operating on a far more efficient basis than before, and with far better results.

For the first year and a half, our war cry "Wake Up, Kentucky!" seemed to stir men's minds and hearts everywhere in the state. Then it began to have a bit of a hollow ring. It did not seem to have quite the validity that it had had at first. Suddenly we realized what the trouble was. Kentucky was awake! Actually, perceptibly, Kentucky was on the march! Our first slogan had outlived its usefulness.

Only those who have been in the position of seeming to be constant faultfinders will know the joy with which all of us of the Committee greeted this realization. We apparently had proceeded far enough on the negative approach. This had served an important purpose, but it was time now to accentuate the positive.

As we began thinking about it, we realized that the change from the negative to the positive had been going on imper-

ceptibly for some months. The Committee had been spreading its wings. It had built its staff up to five people. Its need for office space had grown so great that an office of more than twice the size had been rented. The 100,000 copies of its first brochure had already been distributed and there was need for a new one. The number of organizations represented had grown from twenty at the beginning to eighty-eight. The Committee had been steadily achieving increasing prestige and stature throughout the state. There was hardly an organized group anywhere in Kentucky that had not asked for a speaker to tell them the story.

Our weekly column, "Wake Up, Kentucky," had almost unconsciously changed its tone from the critical to the constructive. The weekly dramatized radio program, "Wake Up, Kentucky," had begun to lose its sting. The time had indeed come for a change.

We signalized this change at a dinner meeting in November, 1946, in Louisville. A whole galaxy of the leaders of Kentucky was present. By actual count they came from fifty-one cities and towns throughout the state. In point of position, the leaders of every important group in Kentucky were present. Some three hundred men and women had come together to celebrate the fact that Kentucky had waked up from its fifty-year slumber.

Mark Ethridge, publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, was toastmaster. It was fitting that the man who had first spoken of a moral climate for progress in Kentucky should preside on the occasion which celebrated the fact that that moral climate had been established.

At the meeting the leaders of the Committee for Henderson told of the awakening of their own community and of the progress they were making. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction spoke of the influence which the Committee had had on that most important phase of any state's activities—

education. The president of the Committee summed up its progress to date and outlined its plans for the future. Kentucky's distinguished senior senator, Alben W. Barkley, later Vice-President of the United States, flew to the meeting to tell the leaders of Kentucky that democracy was on the march throughout the world and of how proud he was that Kentucky was not only joining in the march but was helping to lead the way. It was an inspiring meeting. It was also a turning point for the Committee.

Immediately after the meeting we changed the heading on our weekly newspaper column to "Kentucky on the March." We did the same for the radio program. We had printed 150,000 copies of the new brochure called Kentucky on the March, which was descriptive of the new approach. It was a complete change-over, a complete retooling, an important change in the social direction. The difficult spade work was finished. Signs of progress were now clearly visible.

13. SIGNS OF PROGRESS

EVEN before the Committee had changed its direction, there were signs aplenty that Kentucky was waking up. About ten months after the Committee had started functioning, Governor Willis appointed a Post-War Advisory Commission to make a survey of the state's problems and needs and to report to the people. The group called together for this purpose chose Fred Willkie, vice-president of Seagram's, as its chairman. Almost immediately, the directors of the Committee for Kentucky were called together to discuss its position with relation to the Post-War Advisory Commission. It was my own feeling that the directors should carefully consider whether there was need for the Committee to continue in the face of the Governor's new Commission.

After a thorough discussion it was unanimously decided that the Committee should proceed full-speed ahead. There were several reasons for this decision. First, the Post-War Advisory Commission had been appointed by the Governor. Although we all knew that the composition of the Commission assured its non-partisanship, we were convinced that many Democrats throughout the state would look upon it as a political commission, since it was appointed by a Republican governor. Second, it

was our feeling that, because the Commission was appointed by the Governor, it could get into some situations where it might have to pull its punches. We, as a citizens group, wanted to be in a position where we would be free to think and say what we pleased. We thought that this would best serve the interests of Kentucky. Third, it seemed likely that once the Post-War Advisory Commission had made its report to the Governor it would discontinue its activities. We felt that the Committee for Kentucky should and would go on in one form or another indefinitely.

Nevertheless, since for the time being both groups were covering more or less the same field, it seemed advisable to co-ordinate their activities as far as possible. Accordingly we invited Mr. Willkie, as an individual—not as chairman of the Post-War Advisory Commission—to become a member of the board of directors of the Committee. In fact, he was elected not only director but also first vice-president. In that way he was able to interpret to us the work of the Post-War Advisory Commission and to the Commission the work of the Committee for Kentucky. The arrangement worked well.

The final report of the Post-War Advisory Commission was revealing and provocative. As anticipated, the Commission discontinued its activities about a year after its report was published in final form.

One of the most important recommendations made by the Commission was the formation of a State Chamber of Commerce—something that Kentucky had never had. It was the feeling of a great many people that unless Kentucky got a broader economic base there would not be enough tax revenue to support the expanded programs necessary for education, for health, and for welfare. That could be achieved only by bringing new industries into the state and by developing existing industries within the state. Since there was no central organization

to channel inquiries of manufacturers and others who wanted to come into the state, it was evident that a state Chamber of Commerce could serve this and many other useful purposes.

That the business community of the state recognized this need was evidenced by the fact that the sponsors were able to raise \$130,000 in a private financial campaign to get the Chamber launched. The Chamber of Commerce has already served an important purpose for Kentucky and will continue to do so increasingly.

There were other stirrings of progress well before the Committee was started. The United States of the Second World War remembered its experiences after the First World War, and even during mobilization many hearts and minds were on post-war planning. This was especially true in Kentucky.

Kentucky held a sesquicentennial celebration of its statehood in 1942. This was tempered by war-time restraints. In a time of peace, attention might all have been focused on Kentucky's past, but in a time of war people looked to the future. As part of this celebration, and in the spirit of the times, the University of Kentucky Press published *Kentucky: Designs for Her Future*. This book was edited by Dr. Howard W. Beers, head of the Department of Rural Sociology at the University. It was an important contribution to the progress of the state.

During the Second World War business interests established the National Committee on Economic Development. Two branches were set up in Kentucky—one in Lexington, the other in Louisville. The very fact that groups of businessmen were beginning to think of the future and its prospects was an important step forward.

In addition to the Post-War Advisory Commission, Governor Willis also appointed three other Commissions—one on Negro Affairs, one on Taxation, and one on Youth Guidance. These did not all precede the Committee for Kentucky, but they functioned during the same period.

In local communities notable efforts were undertaken, especially in Louisville with the launching of the Louisville Area Development Association, the brainchild of its then mayor, Wilson W. Wyatt. In Lexington there was the Lexington-Fayette Council for Social Planning and the Lexington Area Planning Council.

In agricultural extension work there was a well-developed activity, stemming back to the 1930's when county agricultural planning was a national extension project.

In addition to all of the above, special-interest organizations, both local and state-wide, were beginning to be more numerous and stronger. The Farm Bureau, the Homemakers Clubs in the state, the Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Labor Unions, the Kentucky Education Association, the State Conference of Social Welfare (later the Kentucky Welfare Association)—all these and others were growing in influence and importance and were drawing into their activities more and more of the citizens of Kentucky.

Finally, there was the development of roads and highways and the spreading of the school system, even into remote places. All the above were signs of a persistent, though slow, penetration of a rural society by the instruments of urbanization.

Added to that, the war economy and the spirit of the times helped immeasurably to raise the economic level of Kentucky. With the raising of the economic level, it was inevitable that a rise in the social level should follow. The moment there was more tax money coming into the state's coffers, that money inevitably found its way into improved services in education, health, and welfare.

The rise of farm income from \$640 per year per farm family in 1940 to \$1,860 per year in 1946 was especially spectacular and was primarily brought about by the war. It gave a tremendous impetus to the economy of the state and to its progress.

To all of these forces the Committee for Kentucky added its contribution, primarily that of getting the facts, telling the people about them, and stimulating discussion throughout the state. One of the major results was the integration of the progress which had previously been made to serve as a base for the progress to come.

The moral climate established by the Committee made possible a great many things that probably could not have been accomplished without it. For example, it had been well-known that the health of the state suffered tragically from a lack of doctors in the rural areas. Many attempts had hitherto been made to improve this situation, but with little result. Two years after the Committee began to tell the people of Kentucky the facts about health in the state, a group, entirely independent of the Committee, launched a campaign to raise a medical scholarship fund of some \$200,000. From this fund, money would be loaned to students who wanted to become doctors but did not have the money to do so. Students would be permitted to borrow up to \$500 a year for as many as four years, on condition that they practiced in the rural areas of Kentucky one year for each year they received a loan.

So great was the interest in the problem and so thoroughly was the awareness of the people of the state's shortcomings in health, that the \$200,000 fund was oversubscribed in a short time. Today a number of young men who might never have had a medical education are well on the way to becoming doctors and will in time add to the health and well-being of a number of the rural communities in Kentucky.

As a result of our spreading the facts about Kentucky, the citizens began to take a much keener interest in the affairs of their state than they had in a long time. This was particularly evident in the fall of 1947, during the campaign for a constitutional convention.

Kentucky's present constitution had been fashioned by a convention in 1890. It is an 1890 document. By the time the constitution was ratified by the people after a year of deliberation, some of its provisions were already obsolete. By 1947, fifty-seven years later, the constitution was anachronistic in many respects.

There were a number of provisions in the constitution which kept the state in a straightjacket and held back its progress. First, the framers of the 1890 constitution, being suspicious of the legislature and of the people, chose to make the constitution not a body of general principles but a series of legislative enactments. Many of these enactments had long since outlived their usefulness, but they were still a part of the constitutional law of the Commonwealth.

One of the most serious drawbacks in the 1890 constitution was its limitation of the salaries of public officials to \$5,000 a year. Except for the governor of Kentucky, no public official was permitted to earn any more. That is the salary which the state pays to the president of the University of Kentucky; that is the salary which the City of Louisville pays to its mayor. It has been estimated that \$5,000 in 1890 had become only \$2,000 in terms of 1947 purchasing power. Yet the constitution still prohibits anyone from earning more.

The result was that, as the cost of living began to rise in the 1940's, literally hundreds of people left the public service in government, education, health, and welfare to go to other states which had no such salary limitations. Kentucky was drained of some of her best and ablest administrators. As a result the state was getting into a desperate plight.

In the fall of 1947 a vigorous campaign for a new constitutional convention was waged throughout the state. Although the Committee for Kentucky took no part in the campaign, being strictly an educational organization, its Report on the

Constitution was widely used by the proponents of a new constitution. The opposition for the most part was directed by a group of conservative and reactionary people who were afraid of any change in the status quo. It was a bitter campaign and the fight for a constitutional convention was lost. And yet, despite this defeat, there were clear signs that the people were becoming aware of the shortcomings of their 1890 constitution.

The last previous vote on the calling of a constitutional convention was held in 1931 and coincided with a gubernatorial election. At that election only 16 per cent of those who went to the polls to vote for governor were interested enough to vote on the constitutional question, one way or another. In 1947, 42 per cent of those who voted for governor also voted on the constitutional issue. That in itself was a measure of the increased awareness of the people. Further, of those who voted on the constitution issue in 1931, 22 per cent voted yes. In 1947, 41 per cent voted yes. If this awareness continues, Kentucky will have a new constitution in the not-too-distant future.

A most interesting aftermath of the 1947 vote on the constitution came shortly after the election. It had to do with the \$5,000 limitation on salaries. The University of Kentucky had been losing many of its best teachers to other institutions because of the salary limitation. The University entered into a test suit to exempt teachers from the \$5,000 limitation on the ground that they were employees, not officers, of the state.

In 1942, only five years before, the Court of Appeals of the Commonwealth had decided that teachers definitely came within the \$5,000 limitation. Yet shortly after the 1947 election the Court of Appeals reversed itself and decided that teachers were exempt from this limitation. The University therefore was able to retain some of its best men. An interesting sidelight in this litigation was the fact that the attorney who tried the case in behalf of the University had been one of the staunchest

leaders of the opponents to a new constitution. The moral climate was beginning to work in strange places!

Since the Committee had tried to appraise Kentucky's ills partly on a quantitative basis through the use of statistical methods, it follows that the progress made should, in part at least, be measured in the same terms. In view of this we asked our experts in agriculture, education, health, and welfare to bring their reports up to date, for approximately three years had passed since the reports had been made. These revisions were published and widely distributed.

It is evident from the figures below that the progress made in four years was comparatively slow. Yet in practically every category there were definite signs that the progress was sure. That was the important thing. Kentucky had turned the corner. Here are some of the things that had happened in the four years:

In Education

1. Enrollment increased 5 per cent, but this was due in part to the larger population.
2. School attendance increased 2 per cent.
3. The school term was lengthened by 5 days.
4. The average school attendance increased by 10 days.
5. The average salary paid to teachers rose from \$1,014 to \$1,325.
6. The number of independent school districts that discriminated in salary against Negroes dropped from 26 to 17.
7. The percentage of Kentuckians who had library service made available to them rose from 33 per cent to 38 per cent.

In Agriculture

1. Tenant farming decreased from 33 per cent to 27 per cent, because of the war prosperity of the farmer.
2. 10,194 more farmers owned all the land they operated.
3. The percentage of Kentucky farms on hard-surface roads increased from 19 per cent to 20 per cent.
4. The farms not reached by improved roads of any sort dropped from 42 per cent to 40 per cent. Since 1945, a large mileage of all-weather rural roads has been constructed.

5. The number of Kentucky farms served by telephone increased from 16 per cent to 18 per cent.
6. The number of farms which had central electric service increased from 25 per cent to 44 per cent—62,146 more farmers were using electricity than in 1940.
7. 11,121 more farmers were using tractors than in 1940.
8. Last, and most heartening, agricultural production increased approximately 25 per cent, and the average income from farm production increased from \$640 per year in 1940 to \$1,860 per farm family in 1946.

In Welfare

1. In the percentage of aged persons receiving assistance, Kentucky dropped from 21st to 27th place in rank among the states.
2. Kentucky rose from last place to fourth from the bottom in amount of Old Age Assistance—from \$11.59 to \$17.37 per person per month.
3. Aid to dependent children rose from \$7.98 a month to \$13.65 a month per child—an increase much larger than the national average increase.¹
4. Aid to the needy blind rose from \$13.09 per month to \$18.32 per month.
5. The physical condition of a number of institutions were improved and appropriations for Public Welfare were generally increased.

In Health

1. Within the last two years of the period, plans were drawn and approved for sewage plants for 30 communities.
2. A significant new plan for insect control was established in the western part of the state.
3. Facilities for the diagnosis and treatment of cancer were substantially enlarged.

¹ Although the state average increase was larger than the national average increase in the four-year period, the Kentucky grant was so far below the national average four years before that the increase left the grant still far substandard and far below the national average grant. For example, the national average per child four years before was about \$16, as against \$7.98 in Kentucky. The increased national average is about \$25 a month, as compared with Kentucky's \$13.65.

4. A traveling cancer diagnostic unit, the first of its kind in the United States, was established.
5. Substantial progress was made in providing industrial hygiene and medical services to Kentucky industries.
6. Under the sponsorship of the Kentucky Medical Association, a medical scholarship fund totaling \$200,000 for training doctors to serve rural areas was established.
7. A survey of hospital facilities in the state was completed, and plans were made for the building and equipment of hospitals in strategic areas of the state.

Two years later, there was an even greater change in education, as follows:

1. Enrollment increased an additional 2 per cent.
2. School attendance increased an additional 3 per cent.
3. The school term was lengthened by an additional 8 days.
4. The percentage of Kentuckians who had library service made available to them rose from 38 per cent to 42 per cent.

The progress in these few years reminds me of the story of the circus barker who stood in front of his tent calling out, "This is the main entrance to see Wild Rose, the Patagonian belle. She is considered a great beauty in her own country, but she's a long way from home."

Kentucky is, indeed, a long way from home—its place beside the progressive states of this nation. But she has started. As the evaluating committee of the National Planning Association said, "Kentucky is on the march, and the Committee for Kentucky is in the lead."

14. A NEW APPROACH TO LEGISLATION

ONE of the most significant undertakings launched by the Committee was its People's Legislative Program. It was our observation that the legislative process in Kentucky, as almost everywhere else, was a highly competitive thing. Practically every important group in the state had become a pressure group. As a rule, each group prepared a maximum legislative program of its own. It then descended upon the Legislature with skilled lobbyists to bring all possible pressure to bear to have its program enacted into law.

What was wrong with this method, in so far as the welfare of the people was concerned, was that the various groups usually differed in strength. It frequently happened that the group with the greatest strength, not the one with the greatest need, received the most favorable legislation.

Since a great deal of legislation had to do with appropriations, the legislative process had become an intensive competition for the taxpayers' dollars. That was bad enough in itself. What was even worse was that this competition had often caused misunderstanding, suspicion, and antagonism among the groups. That was probably the reason that for such a long time the

labor group had looked askance at the farm group, and vice versa.

It was bound to follow that where the pressure groups were unevenly matched, the resulting legislation would be unbalanced. It seemed to us that practically every important group in the state had a lobby except the most important group of all—the people. And that is how we came upon the idea of a People's Legislative Program.

It occurred to us that there might be a better way for the legislative process to function—that we might substitute the principle of co-operation for that of competition. It seemed worth a try.

Accordingly, in January, 1947, we called a meeting of the leaders of every important group in the state to consider this new adventure in democracy. It was easy to get them together, since they had been working with one another for more than three years on the program of the Committee. We outlined to them the idea and the philosophy behind it. We suggested that each go back to his own group and work out a legislative program aimed solely for the benefit of his particular group. It was agreed that all would come to another meeting two months later, prepared to present their programs. We would then spend whatever time was necessary for all the groups jointly to consider, plank by plank, the program of each individual group.

It was agreed, in advance, that we would include in the People's Legislative Program only such planks as received the unanimous approval of all of the groups. This approach was decided on not because it was the democratic thing to do but rather because we felt that in this first attempt the method—co-operation instead of competition—was far more important than the planks themselves, however important they might be. We were convinced that, once the groups had learned to work

together co-operatively in the field of legislation, the rules of agreement could readily be revised for a more democratic approach.

The thing which impressed these leaders most was the realization that they were citizens of Kentucky first, and then members of a special-interest group. A farmer, for example, would be interested in farm legislation, to be sure. But, being a citizen first, he would be especially interested in such legislation as might benefit him as a citizen—legislation pertaining to the health, the welfare, and the education of himself and of his children.

We also stressed the interdependence of the groups. If the farmer helped the laboring man to improve his position and thus increase his purchasing power, that increased purchasing power would sooner or later find its way into the farmer's pocket and thus improve his economic position. If the laboring man helped the farmer improve his position, that would mean for the farmer an increase in purchasing power which would ultimately provide more jobs for labor.

In March, 1947, the groups met again. It was a fascinating meeting. One by one each group presented its program, plank by plank. Every plank was thoroughly discussed and put to a vote. Although many worth-while planks were rejected for lack of unanimous approval, thirty-eight were unanimously agreed upon and were incorporated in the People's Legislative Program. The results were attractively printed in pamphlet form and ready for widespread distribution.

Nine major groups included in the eighty-eight Kentucky organizations participated in the development of this program:

Kentucky Education Association

Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation

Kentucky Labor Groups, including

Kentucky State Federation of Labor (A.F. of L.)

Kentucky State C.I.O. Council
United Mine Workers of Kentucky
Railway Brotherhoods of Kentucky

Kentucky Aviation Groups
Kentucky Congress of Parents and Teachers

Kentucky Conservation Groups

Kentucky Health Groups

Kentucky Welfare Groups

Kentucky Women's Groups

Because of the importance of the new approach, it is interesting to see some of the planks on which the nine major groups could agree unanimously. These will give a bird's-eye view of some of the major problems of the state. They include provision for improved schools in the rural areas, support for a program of better medical care for rural people and expansion of the program for building and maintaining rural highways and farm-to-market roads. Above all, they call for expanding support to rural electrification.

In aviation they provide for more airports and the raising of revenues to make aviation a self-supporting industry.

In business they provide for a substantial reduction in the intangible property tax rate, for the development of small business in small communities, and for incentives to get Kentucky capital to invest in Kentucky enterprises.

They include a number of conservation measures.

The education section of the program called for increases in teachers' salaries, for lengthening the minimum school term from eight to nine months, and for several other important measures.

In health there were a number of planks to correct some of the bad conditions that had developed in the state. Among these was a provision for a three-day waiting period before the issuing of marriage licenses.

The labor planks called for an improved mine-safety law to cut down the toll which mine accidents were taking year by year. They also called for improvement in the workmen's compensation laws, for civil service for state employees, for an extended state minimum wage and hour act, and for a fair employment practices act.

In the welfare field they called for an improved child-labor law. There were, in addition, several planks for the improvement of state institutions, many of which were in a bad way.

In November, 1947, an election for governor and for members of the Legislature was held in Kentucky. The People's Legislative Program was timed so as to be ready well before the primary early in August of that year. A copy of the program, with its impressive unanimous backing, was sent to every candidate for office from governor on down. Candidates in both the Democratic and the Republican primaries were asked for their comment. The support for the program, and particularly for the new approach, was most heartening.

The then Attorney General, who was to become the Republican nominee for governor, summed up so excellently the purposes and the spirit behind the People's Legislative Program that his letter is reproduced in full:

The legislative programme which the Committee for Kentucky proposes has received our careful study and analysis. It constitutes a platform which deserves the commendation of all Kentuckians who are genuinely interested in the welfare and progress of their state.

The Committee has apparently taken the sound position that the problems of Kentucky are not only interrelated but integrated. The difficulties confronting one phase of Kentucky life cannot be isolated from those confronting other phases; what affects the education system affects high-ways; what concerns labor is of interest to industry and agriculture as well; health matters cannot be segregated from governmental matters generally; and programmes of conservation

have to do with everybody. Society has become increasingly complex and none of us can be totally indifferent to our neighbors and their circumstances.

Just as the questions are bound up with each other, answers are bound up also. The improvement of rural roads, for example, will result in the improvement of agriculture, education, industry, and so on. That is why point 5 under your section on "Agriculture"—"Provide for improved schools in Rural Areas"—might just as well have been listed under "Education," and point 6—"Support a Program for Better Medical Care of Rural People"—might have appeared under "Health." Any approach to a programme for the advancement of Kentucky must be colored by a realization of oneness and close relationship.

Your Committee is to be congratulated upon the exhaustive research it has undertaken. The proposed legislative programme shows that considerable research has been done, and I am eagerly awaiting subcommittee reports which are yet to be published.

It is heartening to note that the programme is of non-partisan and non-political origin. Politics has no place in a movement whose sole purpose is to lift the general level of the state and restore Kentucky to its rightful place among the 48.

What we particularly wanted from each of the candidates for governor was the promise that, if elected, he would use his good offices to help arrange for another joint session of the Legislature before which we could present our People's Legislative Program. We secured such a promise from each candidate.

The Democratic nominee, Earle C. Clements, was elected governor in November, 1947. True to his promise, he invited the president of the Committee to meet in his office with the leaders of both Houses shortly after the Legislature had convened the following January. The joint session was agreed upon and carefully planned.

On February 17, 1948, a joint session of three of the most important committees of both the Senate and the House of Representatives was held for the sole purpose of presenting to

them the People's Legislative Program and the philosophy behind it. First, the idea behind the program was fully explained by the president of the Committee. Then a spokesman for each of the groups presented the planks for his group and the reason for each plank. Then followed a question period.

Because of the importance of this meeting, the program is here presented in full:

PROGRAM FOR THE PRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE'S LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM, FEBRUARY 17, 1948, AT 10:30 A.M., IN THE CHAMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY

1. The Committee for Kentucky's story to date and the philosophy behind the People's Legislative Program—Harry W. Schacter, President of the Committee for Kentucky; President of the Kaufman-Straus Company
2. Presentation of the eight sections of the Legislative Program
 - (1) **AGRICULTURE:** J. E. Stanford, Executive Secretary, Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation; Secretary-Treasurer, Kentucky Farm Bureau Mutual Insurance Company
 - (2) **AVIATION:** Henry P. Julliard, President, National Aeronautics Association Council for Kentucky; Vice-President Aero Club of Kentucky; Air Corps veteran
 - (3) **BUSINESS:** Leigh Harris, Publisher, *Henderson Gleaner and Journal*; President, Henderson Board of Trade
 - (4) **CONSERVATION:** Tom Wallace, Editor, *Louisville Times*; Former President, Kentucky Conservation Council; National President, Izaak Walton League of America; Chairman, National Conference on State Parks
 - (5) **EDUCATION:** John Brooker, Director of Public Relations, Kentucky Education Association; Chairman, Committee on Legislation for Kentucky Congress of Parents and Teachers

- (6) **HEALTH:** Dr. P. E. Blackerby, State Health Commissioner; Secretary, State Board of Health; Secretary, Kentucky State Medical Association
- (7) **LABOR:** Edward H. Weyler, Secretary-Treasurer, Kentucky State Federation of Labor; and Sam Caddy, President, United Mine Workers, District No. 30
- (8) **WELFARE:** Louise Diecks, Director, Department of Welfare, City of Louisville; President, Kentucky Welfare Association; Member, Board of Directors, American Public Welfare Association

3. Question Period—By Members of the Legislature

The questions and comments of the members of the Legislature indicated that the program itself and the philosophy behind it had made a deep impression on them.

The entire meeting was transcribed by Radio Station WHAS, edited into a full one-hour program, and rebroadcast throughout the state that evening as a service to the people. Comments on that broadcast came to us from all over the country. A new approach to legislation had indeed begun.

Since we wanted to keep the People's Legislative Program constantly before the legislators during the session, we were not content merely with a presentation of the program at the joint session. Late in December, 1947, Station WHAS began a series of radio programs called "Kentucky People's Platform." These were run on Sundays at noon and outlined some of the highlights of the People's Legislative Program. They were continued intermittently up to and throughout the session of the Legislature.

In order to determine how much of an impact the program had made, we devoted perhaps the most important of these broadcasts to a round-table discussion among the leaders of the Legislature, who gave their appraisal of this program. It was in-

teresting to see the impact it had made on these leaders. During the broadcast R. P. Moloney, the Majority Leader of the Senate, said:

The Committee for Kentucky, with the help of farm, labor, education, health, and welfare groups, has written a platform for general improvement in the state that is a challenge to every citizen and legislator. Accomplishment of the Committee's objectives would do much to tone down the cries against Kentucky's often low position among her sister states. The state budget bill currently before the Legislature provides somewhat of a wedge into Kentucky's major problems, but much remains to be done. The Committee for Kentucky's legislative program for the state aims a searchlight at our many difficulties, and I am sure the General Assembly will take serious note of the light shed upon our woes. . . .

I am sure that the present state administration will move in many directions prescribed by the Committee for Kentucky and that, if the Legislature does, our Commonwealth will have grabbed its own bootstraps and lifted herself a little higher toward providing government that meets the general approval of all classes and elements in our society.

He was followed by the Senate Minority Leader, Ray Moss, who said:

The People's Legislative Program for Kentucky submitted by the Committee for Kentucky is the result of many conferences and research of many distinguished citizens and outstanding groups. It is presented with the sole idea of betterment to the various phases of our economic and cultural life. It is a recommendation that touches us from the cradle to the grave. Such a program will of necessity be long-range as well as immediate.

This program is really a challenge to the people of this Commonwealth, and it is up to them—the people—whether we move forward or remain static.

Then came John Watts, the House Majority Leader, who said:

It appears to me in studying the program of the Committee for Kentucky that it is an effort on the part of a generous group of people of the State of Kentucky who have devoted considerable time and thought to an effort to furnish to the government at Frankfort, and especially the Legislative branches, a guide post, a program by which we might act and increase the benefits to the various bureaus, departments, and other people that live in the State of Kentucky.

He was followed by the House Minority Leader, Hobart Rayburn, who analyzed the highlights of the People's Legislative Program and indicated that the minority group in the House favored practically all of it.

The 1948 session of the Legislature was an unusually effective and harmonious one. In the two previous sessions—in 1944 and in 1946—there had been a Republican governor and a Democratic legislature. It was inevitable under these circumstances that there should be much political pulling and hauling and much conflict.

On the other hand, at the time of the 1948 Legislature there was a Democratic governor who had been elected by a tremendous majority—a majority of over 100,000 votes out of less than 700,000 votes cast. He had the prestige that goes with a big majority, and he had working with him a Legislature that was overwhelmingly Democratic. As a result, a great deal of progressive legislation was enacted readily.

The people's Legislative Program comprised some thirty-eight planks. Of these, twenty-six received legislative enactment in one form or another. It took two or three bills sometimes to give effect to one plank. Twenty-six out of thirty-eight is a heartening result. In baseball terms, it's a batting average of .670. Ty Cobb, even in his palmiest days, never reached that.

It must in all truth be stated that a good deal of this legislation would no doubt have been passed had there been no

Committee for Kentucky. The spirit of the times made for progress and the legislators were fully cognizant of this.

By this time, however, the Committee had helped to develop the moral climate in which this legislative progress could be made. In addition, the Committee had brought nine important groups together to support the thirty-eight planks unanimously. The fact that these planks had among their supporters the Farm Bureau Federation with its 52,000 farm families, the labor groups with 200,000 members, and the Kentucky Education Association with 17,000 teachers no doubt added to the readiness of the legislators to enact these recommendations of the Committee into law.

The people had taken counsel with their lawmakers, and the lawmakers had listened and acted.

15. FOR A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE RACES

IF BETTER understanding was necessary between farmer and laborer and among the health, education, and other special interest groups, the problem of getting a better understanding between the races was of even greater importance. It has long been evident that our American democracy will never reach fulfillment until we have in every section of our country only one class of citizenship—until we fulfill Jefferson's great dictum "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Kentucky occupies a peculiar position on the race question. It is betwixt and between. It has Jim Crow laws and it doesn't. If you ride on a train and are a Negro, you have to sit in a special Jim Crow section. On the other hand, if you ride on a bus in Louisville or Lexington, you can sit anywhere you please.

There are Negro police in Louisville, but there is segregation in the jail. The Library Board which directs the policies for all the libraries in the city has a Negro among its thirteen trustees. Yet, until recently, Negroes were not permitted to use the reading room of the main library. The Louisville War Memorial

Auditorium, which is owned by the city, leases the hall to various groups, both white and Negro. Some of the white groups which sponsor concerts permit Negroes to attend. On the other hand, the white movie houses do not permit Negroes admission under any circumstances. No Negro is permitted in the dining rooms, either public or private, of most of the hotels in the city.

From the outset it was evident that this would be one of the hardest problems the Committee would have to face. We knew that we should have to take a forthright stand on the subject and that it could only be a democratic stand. If the Committee failed to recognize the Negro as a first-class citizen it was finished as a progressive force. On the other hand, we were up against a wall of prejudice even among enlightened people. The whole question posed a back-breaking problem for the Committee. It had to be met head on.

The nature and the extent of the problem was movingly summed up by Chester Higgins, the Kentucky State College Negro student who had won the first prize in the Committee's essay contest. He said:

There is no time like the present to haul out and re-examine our beliefs of superiority and inferiority. Our attitude toward race relations in Kentucky is reflected in Pearl Buck's words: "We [of America] should first decide whether we want a nation of master and subject peoples; and having decided that we do want such a setup state this policy clearly, certainly, and firmly. And then by refusing the Negro the opportunities for educational, religious, economic, and cultural development he might eventually be forced to docilely accept the lowly life of servitude."

Any discussion of race relations between the two races is a disquieting undertaking; members of each race move on tiptoes whenever the subject is broached. Empty, sympathetic platitudes are uttered, persecution complexes are paraded, pertinent facts are glossed over, and petty insignificant incidents are given much play. An air of condescension and patronizing is prevalent. No concrete understanding can be reached by such "scardy-cat pussyfooting." A

spade must be called a spade, issues must be squarely met; honestly and unreservedly discussed, if anything constructive is to be done about them.

The roots of prejudice go deep; no amount of laws can fundamentally alter them. The will to uproot them must come from within. Laws represent force, and force is a puny weapon indeed with which to combat such an abstract, deeply entrenched, innate emotion as prejudice.

When enough people are set to thinking about a thing the chances are very good that something will be done about it for good or for evil. I refuse to believe that people—any people—are wholly, essentially, and irrevocably bad. There are good and bad, fair-minded and foul-minded, decent and indecent folk in all races. The strengthening factor is that the good of us far outnumber the bad of us.

The time for decision came at the launching of the second report, the report on education. The question took the following form: Should the report deal separately with the education problems of whites and Negroes? Should there be segregation in the report, or should it deal with the education of all Kentucky citizens, both white and Negro? The directors had to answer that question satisfactorily.

Fortunately our expert on education was Dr. Maurice F. Seay, then Director of the Bureau of School Service at the University of Kentucky and later Dean of the University. He had just finished a study of the educational system of Alabama at the employment of a lay commission authorized by the Legislature of that state. He came directly from that experience to do our Report on Education.

While our directors were discussing this problem at the launching of the Report on Education, Dr. Seay told us that in Alabama, at the very outset of his work, he was visited by a group of distinguished Negro educators. They urgently requested that there be no segregation in the report. They urged that the problem be treated as one for all Alabama citizens,

regardless of color or creed. Their thesis was that universal public education is a fundamental basis of democracy. Hence education is a problem of all the people rather than a problem of color. This interpretation seemed to us to be so just that the first decision of the directors of the Committee was that there would be no segregation in any of our reports.

After much discussion we arrived at a general policy on the treatment of the race question in these reports. Each report was prepared in three steps: first, the launching; second, the meeting for criticism and revision; third, final approval by the representatives of the member organizations. In the first two stages the reports had to receive the approval of the directors and experts. It was therefore agreed that we have two Negro directors among the sixteen. In the final stage, the reports were approved by all the member organizations. It was accordingly agreed that we open general membership to all Negro groups and individuals who cared to join. Thus we provided full Negro representation at every stage of the preparation of the report.

We were fortunate in the choice of our two Negro directors, for they were both men of high standing in their respective fields. Dr. R. B. Atwood was president of Kentucky State College and a distinguished Negro educator. He had built the institution which he headed from a down-at-the-heel school to an important center of higher learning. The other director, Frank L. Stanley, was publisher of one of the largest Negro newspapers in the South, the *Louisville Defender*. For two years he was president of the National Negro Newspaper Publishers Association. These two men were among the sixteen directors who from the beginning set the policy for the Committee.

At the meetings to launch the reports our Negro directors were present to represent the Negro point of view. They participated fully and frankly in all discussions on a complete parity with the other directors, and they made their influence strongly

felt. In the second stage of each report—the criticism meetings—they were again present to represent the Negro point of view. Again they made an important contribution.

For the final stage—the public meeting—we selected a public hall in a hotel which did not insist on segregation. Among the eighty-eight active member organizations of the Committee for Kentucky were practically all of the important organized Negro groups—some fourteen in number. Their representatives attended the final report meetings as first-class citizens on a non-segregated basis. They participated in the discussions and made their opinions fully felt.

. For the consideration of the reports at the different stages of their completion, and for most other purposes, the directors and experts usually met at dinner. At first this was a rather startling experience, even to some of the directors; but, before the discussion was well under way, color lines were forgotten. The joint objective of all the directors was uppermost in the minds of everyone; nobody paid any attention to anything else.

An interesting episode involving the race question developed during our first appearance before the joint session of the Legislature. Among the 100 representatives and 38 senators in the Legislature there was but one Negro—a representative from a predominantly Negro district in Louisville. After the Committee's story had been told, the floor was thrown open to questions addressed to the president of the Committee by the members of the Legislature.

The first question came from the lone Negro representative. It was: "Where does the Committee for Kentucky stand on the Negro problem?" It was a tense moment. Here was the entire Legislature—many of its members with a life-long anti-Negro prejudice. There was the packed gallery, similarly conditioned. The president of the Committee answered: "You gentlemen of the Legislature are here because you have sworn to uphold

the constitution of the Commonwealth. Had you not taken that oath, you would not have been permitted to sit on this floor. This constitution that you have sworn to defend recognizes only one class of citizen. It makes no provision for second-class citizenship. Therefore we of the Committee for Kentucky, concurring in this, have invited Dr. Atwood and Mr. Stanley to be directors of the Committee. They are seated here before me and I should like to introduce both of them to you. We deal with them and with all other Negroes as we deal with all citizens of Kentucky." The tension of the moment was broken by the wave of applause that swept throughout the Chamber. For that moment, at least, it seemed as though the ideal of democracy had risen above race prejudice.

When the time came to develop the People's Legislative Program, the Negroes had full opportunity to participate and to suggest legislation for improving their position in Kentucky. That we did not make all the progress some of us had hoped for with respect to race legislation was due to the fact that we had agreed in advance to include only such planks as were approved unanimously. A number of the groups could not yet cut themselves away from age-old prejudices on the race question.

Nevertheless substantial progress was made in this program for the improvement of race relations. The People's Legislative Program contained unanimously approved proposals for a Fair Employment Practices Act. Several other planks were included, seeking to improve the position of the Negro in Kentucky. Though not all of them were enacted into law, at least a start in the right direction has been made.

The same spirit of an enlightened approach to race relations which developed on a state-wide level also came to the fore in the organization of the Committee for Henderson. The problem

was the same on any level. Just as we, on the state level, had decided that no state-wide organization could make progress without including the 215,000 Kentucky Negro citizens, so the leaders of the Committee for Henderson early realized that no progress could be made in their community without the participation of their Negro population. The problem was more acute in Henderson, which is some 130 miles farther south and west of Louisville.

Yet when the Committee for Henderson launched its five major studies—in agriculture, education, health, welfare, and housing—the study committees had Negro members. This was a greater step forward for Henderson than was the participation of Negroes at the state level. The people of both races, working together for a common objective, soon found that each had much to contribute to the common good, that each needed the other, and that no progress could be made without the fullest participation of both.

That the Negro leaders understood how we felt about the whole race problem was indicated by the following letter from Alfred M. Carroll, president of the Louisville branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

Enclosed please find our check for \$50.00 as payment for our 1946-47 membership in the Committee for Kentucky. You will note that this is an increase over our 1945-46 membership fee. [They voluntarily paid twice the amount of their regular dues.]

Words cannot express our deep appreciation for the courageous and revealing work accomplished by the committee, and it is our sincere desire that the work may continue.

Additional testimony on this score came from Dr. R. B. Atwood, who said:

I regard the Committee for Kentucky as an organization to give real democracy an opportunity to function for the advancement of all the people of the State. Early in the period of its founding the

Committee conceived its job to include people of all races, creeds, and economic levels. This was the first time that any well-known organization has so conceived its task, and to thousands of Kentuckians such action immediately branded the Committee as radical. Probably for this reason many persons, especially some of high income, have never supported the Committee.

It should be noted at this point that the Committee for Kentucky, being an educational organization, never took an aggressively partisan stand on the race question. But, by its very organization and by its method of working, the Committee went on the basic assumption that all citizens of Kentucky had the same right to participate in a program involving the general welfare. By so doing it set an example for others to see and to follow. That example was an important contribution to the improvement of race relations in Kentucky and will be increasingly so in the years to come.

16. WHERE DID THE MONEY COME FROM?

ANY group, starting as we did, will find one of its first problems to be: "Where is the money coming from?" It is common knowledge that most organizations devoted to progress usually have a hard struggle to keep going financially. It is sad, but true, that "do-gooders," as some of the opposition like to call us, are always poor.

Furthermore, it is much more difficult to raise money for a general than for a specific purpose. When you approach people for a contribution to the Red Cross or to the Community Chest, they can see their money translated into direct and almost immediate benefit to some person or group. When you approach them for a contribution in support of a project to make democracy more effective, you are working on something which is much harder for people to understand. Often there may be no tangible results for a long time. And yet, as one looks back upon history, it will be seen that most of the progress made by mankind has been the result of general programs and not of specific enterprises.

It is difficult to arouse the interest of an individual in giving money to a program that is general in scope and character. This

calls for imagination on the part of the donor, as well as an ability to think in long-range terms. Not many people think in such terms.

For example, any thinking person will admit that the local community is the bulwark of democracy. Yet try to approach an individual for a contribution to make democracy effective in his own community and you will get a blank stare or an uninterested shrug of the shoulder. Once the people begin to understand the problem, once they begin to share a vision together, they will go all out to support such a project. Therefore, the first problem that must be faced by any group like the Committee for Kentucky is how to get the people to understand the program and to see its importance. That was the first job we had to do to get financial support.

For the first year and a half, money posed no serious difficulty. The president of the Committee directed its affairs from his own office and with his own secretary. During this entire eighteen-month period the total sum spent was \$783, practically all of it for printing.

But, as the Committee's idea took hold and its activities expanded, it became necessary to staff the Committee adequately. When the reports began coming off the press—each report cost approximately \$2,000—it became clear that a substantial sum of money had to be raised for the furtherance of the work.

Being a merchant, and fortunately having the confidence of my fellow merchants, I invited a group of fourteen Louisville retailers to lunch. I outlined the prospective but still nebulous program of the Committee. They were men of vision and imagination and they got the idea quickly. At the end of the outline I submitted to them a bill for \$6,000 for the lunch. After thirty minutes of discussion—and it was a full discussion by hardheaded businessmen—they paid the bill in full. These

fourteen merchants were willing to invest \$6,000 in progress. Others followed their example to such an extent that we soon raised \$17,000. This was enough to keep us going until the end of 1945.

In December, 1945, I met with the man who was scheduled to be the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the 1946 Kentucky General Assembly. We were to arrange for the joint session of the Legislature at which the Committee was to tell its story the following month.

When he had heard the entire story of the Committee, the Speaker became so enthusiastic that he said quite spontaneously, "Let me try to get you an appropriation of \$50,000 from the Legislature for your work." I had to swallow hard several times before answering. We were down to a bank balance of \$300. We already had a staff of two people and an office to support and no clear idea of where more money was to come from. I also knew that at that time the prestige and the power of the Speaker were so great that undoubtedly he could get us the appropriation. Yet after quick reflection I thanked him and firmly declined.

He was rather taken aback, for, as he said, people do not often turn down substantial sums from the Legislature. He asked for my reasons. I told him frankly that there were three: First, the moment we accepted an appropriation from a Democratic legislature in political-minded Kentucky we should be branded as partisan Democrats; were it a Republican legislature, we should be similarly branded as partisan Republicans. Second, we felt that it would restrict our freedom of action if we were to accept an appropriation from the Legislature, for we should then have a definite responsibility to the state government; we might lose our independence and the freedom to speak our minds as we saw fit. Third, it was our considered conviction that, if the

people of Kentucky wanted progress, they would have to pay for it and would appreciate it all the more if they did pay for it. The Speaker accepted this explanation in good grace.

It became necessary to raise a substantial sum of money for the years of 1946 and 1947. We started out with a goal of \$75,000 for the two-year period and employed the services of a professional money raiser. The campaign was well under way and we had already raised approximately \$45,000 when we were suddenly halted in our tracks. It was discovered that a state-wide organization devoted to tax research and reduction had notified all its directors that we were a "spending group" and had hinted broadly that we were not to be supported financially. The members of this group for the most part were the important business people from whom our heaviest contribution would come. We were effectively blocked.

We decided then to see how much we could raise from the people themselves. We asked our member organizations—the Kentucky Education Association, the Farm Bureau, the labor groups, and others—to go out among their people and to invite memberships for as little as \$1.00 per person. The Kentucky Education Association leaders organized every district in the state and collected nearly \$5,000 for the Committee. This represented contributions at \$1.00 each from approximately 5,000 of the state's 17,000 teachers. We thought that was a fine showing. In all, the organizations raised close to \$20,000. We were thus enabled to carry through the two years' work despite the opposition of some of the moneyed groups. And close to 20,000 people now had a financial stake, however small, in the work of the Committee.

Early in 1946, when the Committee for Henderson was being formed, there was considerable discussion in the Legislature about establishing a research fund of \$200,000 to do work along the lines which we were following. Immediately after one of the

Henderson meetings, the state senator from Henderson County came to me and offered to try to secure the \$200,000 research fund under consideration for the Committee for Kentucky. We turned down this offer for the same reasons for which we had refused the offer of the Speaker of the House. We preferred to do our job entirely on our own.

Early in 1948 we prepared a budget for the years of 1948 and 1949. By this time we had a staff of five full-time people and a broad and extensive program. Needing \$100,000 for the two-year period, we approached the task of raising this large amount with considerable trepidation, particularly since we had decided to do the job by ourselves and without a professional money raiser. But by this time the people had really begun to understand our objectives and our purposes. This was especially true of a great many smaller businessmen. Within a few months we had raised \$85,000, with the certain prospect that the other \$15,000 would be forthcoming. Our misgivings had been unfounded. We had not known our own strength. For the people of Kentucky, having come to know the score, had indicated by their support that they were willing to pay for progress.

To us perhaps the most significant contribution toward this \$85,000 was a grant of \$20,000 from the Rockefeller-endowed General Education Board. This was made to the University of Kentucky, which was to take over and carry on the community service program which we had started. That grant not only helped to free us from financial worry but gave us the national prestige which goes with such a grant. In fact, the impression that it made on some of the moneyed opposition in our own state was worth far more to us than the \$20,000 itself; for in their eyes we had, in a measure at least, achieved respectability.

For the five active years of the Committee for Kentucky program, a total of some \$200,000 was raised. Where did the money come from? A goodly portion of it came from the small business-

men who realized how much was wrong with the state and were willing to make an investment in a better day for Kentucky. Close to \$25,000 came from individuals—teachers, white-collar workers, working people, farmers—who invested from one to five dollars in membership in the Committee as a vote of confidence in what we were trying to do. It was touching to see some of the grimy, dirty dollar bills which came particularly from the mountain region, from people to whom a dollar contribution meant a real sacrifice. Yet they were willing to make that sacrifice in the hope that it might result in a better school for their children, in better medical care for their families, and in other important and urgent things which they needed.

A small number of contributions of a substantial size came from progressive businessmen and bankers who were willing to go counter to the prejudices of those in their group in order to support the Committee.

In addition, the member organizations of the Committee paid dues ranging from \$25 to \$250 a year.

Generally speaking, it was from a cross section of the people of Kentucky that the money was raised.

Raising money for a public purpose can be the meanest, dirtiest, most back-breaking business. It is a rare revealer of human nature. It can be a source of the deepest humiliation, setback, and rebuff to those who are working to raise the money. But, once the money has been raised from the people themselves, the satisfaction of having achieved financial independence for the undertaking is so great that nothing can take its place.

To all those who may find themselves in a similar situation, I urge this with all the earnestness at my command: Don't try to get your money the easy way. Do it the hard way. You will get tremendous personal satisfaction from the accomplishment of the job. The citizen participation in your program will do

far more than reward you for the effort and for the tribulation that you will have to undergo. Above all, don't tie yourself to any branch of government. If you do, no matter how much money you can get, you will be mortgaging your most precious possession—your independence.

17. TOWARD AN-ENLIGHTENED PUBLIC OPINION

WHEN a man is toiling up the side of a mountain, he will stop occasionally to look back and see how far he has come and to look forward and see how far he still has to go. So it is with a great social movement. There comes a time to pause and take stock.

That was why in the summer of 1947, after almost four years of work, a Planning Committee was appointed to appraise the job we had done and to chart the future course of the Committee. It soon became apparent that the strongest foundation on which we could build our future work was an enlightened public opinion. We were convinced that without such a basis, whatever had been done would be temporary and fleeting. With a base of strong public opinion there was no limit to the progress which Kentucky could make.

We therefore embarked on an intensive program of leadership education. The objective of the program was to have every organized group in every Kentucky community make a careful study of each of our reports. Since groups which meet regularly are always looking for good programs, we planned to suggest to each that it ask for a volunteer from its own organization to

make a study of each of our reports and to give a talk on that study at a regular meeting of the group.

One member, say, of the Rotary Club of a community might be interested in agriculture. He would make an intensive study of our report on that subject and present it to his organization as a full program. Another might be interested in education. He would present our education report as a program. In the end, every member of the Rotary Club of that community would become acquainted with the major problems of Kentucky, and in addition the Club would have an expert on each problem.

It was obvious that if we could prevail upon most of the organized groups in every Kentucky community to study our reports in this way we should have an informed and enlightened leadership in Kentucky. This would be the backbone of the public opinion we were looking for.

Early in October, 1948, the Executive Director of the Committee set out to launch this leadership education program in the local communities. He began in Somerset, Kentucky, a town of a little over 6,000, located in the south-central part of the state. It was an exciting and fascinating experience—this “discovering” of a community. For a week he was, in the social field, a DeSoto, a Magellan, and a Balboa combined. He casually dropped in on the leading citizens of the community and began to talk about the future of Somerset and of Kentucky with them. At first they wondered what his angle was, whether he had something he wanted to sell them, whether he was looking for financial contributions.

When he had made it clear that he had no axe to grind, that he was not looking for anything for himself or for the Committee, but that he was actually there to offer the help of the Committee to the people of Somerset, the whole climate changed. Enthusiasm took the place of skepticism, and hard-boiled

bankers and businessmen permitted themselves to dream of a Somerset and a Kentucky of the future.

By the end of the week, our Executive Director had a bird's-eye view of who the leaders of Somerset were, what were the major characteristics and problems of the town, what its attitude was toward progress, and how it felt about the Committee. He had set the leaders of this community to thinking about their own future. He wrote it all down on paper. It will be an invaluable document in time to come.

From Somerset our Executive Director went to London, to Corbin, to Williamsburg, and to other Kentucky communities. It was the beginning of a program which will take him, during the next year and a half, to every important community in the state. In each community he visited, he learned something new not only about the problems of the community but about the techniques with which to approach these problems. He learned to improvise new techniques. He began to develop social skills in stimulating communities to action which will in time be productive of great good.

We also felt that it was important to educate another type of leadership—the young men and women in our colleges. They, though not yet ready to take the helm, would in time control the destinies of Kentucky. Because of their educational advantages they would be in a particularly favorable position to carry on the struggle for progress after they had graduated and had returned to their own communities.

With this end in view we set up an experiment for educating student leadership in three of our important institutions of higher learning: Kentucky State College, the only Negro college in the state; Transylvania College, which is a privately endowed institution; and the University of Kentucky. We met with the student leaders in each of these three institutions to discuss the project. Characteristically enough, each institution approached the problem in a different way.

At Kentucky State College there were some fifteen to twenty organized student groups on the campus. The leaders of these groups decided to form a central organization composed of all their organizations, for the purpose of having the entire student body study and discuss our reports. They planned to devote one discussion meeting to each of the reports, one student to be designated to make a thorough study of the report and to act as discussion leader. After all the reports had thus been covered, there would be a series of meetings for the discussion of what the students could do to put the findings into practical action in their own communities, both now and in the future. From the caliber of the thinking evidenced at these meetings I am confident that the students will come up with some important answers.

At Transylvania the objective was the same but the approach was different. It was determined there that to each student organization would be assigned the responsibility of sponsoring the study and discussion of one specific report. The presentation of the study was to be made at a Chapel meeting of the entire student body.

At the University of Kentucky the method was again different. A weekly discussion group, in which some twenty or more student organizations on the campus participated, was already functioning under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. This group undertook to launch a six- to eight-week program, each week to be devoted to a discussion of a different report of the Committee. The meetings were eminently successful. Approximately 700 students, on the average, attended.

At the end of these discussions the groups leaders met to appraise the results. The secretary of the University branch of the Y.M.C.A. reported that the discussions had been helpful in that they caused the students to think seriously about the issues discussed. So much was this the case, he told us, that the students complained that the discussion periods of from

thirty to forty minutes were too short. The facts, especially those about education, were a revelation to the students. He said that they recommended that the Committee make every effort to get these problems discussed in all the colleges and further recommended that the reports be made available to all college dormitories, fraternity houses, and other living units for students so that they might have ready access to them.

Still another approach to the use of our reports was made by Cumberland College at Williamsburg, in southeastern Kentucky. Up to the time of our Executive Director's visit to this college no organized use had been made of the reports. The President of Cumberland, after a review of the Committee's reports, said, "I can see right now how this college can make use of these reports. We have an International Club which will be delighted to study the materials. I am going to suggest to this organization that they prepare programs based around these individual reports and present them to the student assembly. I would like to go further than that. If I can get more copies of the reports, I will recommend to the instructor of our social studies that they be used in courses in that field."

The University of Louisville also made widespread use of the Committee's reports. It has purchased several thousand copies for resale to students through the University bookstore. Students registering for certain courses in social studies are required to secure copies of these reports, which are used in the course as regular text material. Although the University of Louisville serves a rather large urban community, the Committee's Report on Agriculture has been used in the University courses along with the Reports on Education, on Health, on Welfare, on Labor, and on Manufacturing.

Varied use of our reports have been made by many other colleges in the state, including Murray State, Western State, Eastern State, Morehead State, Sue-Bennett, and Berea College.

It was tremendously heartening to us to see the interest and the enthusiasm shown by the college students. Their earnestness of purpose, their deep concern with conditions in Kentucky, and their eagerness to do something about them was a decided affirmation to us of our conviction that if the people knew the facts they would be eager to take corrective action.

One of the most fascinating things about ideas is the strange and unpredictable places where they land and the unexpected results they produce.

Take, for example, the case of Robert N. Hubbard. Hubbard was a student at Transylvania College in Lexington, Kentucky. He had been inducted into the armed forces of the United States and had for three years fought for his country in the Pacific Area in the Second World War. He was disabled, honorably discharged, and returned to Transylvania to complete his studies.

Just about this time, some of the reports of the Committee for Kentucky came into his hands. He read them with a sense of growing dissatisfaction with "things as they are." In his class in political science Hubbard began griping about Kentucky.

Finally his professor said, "Why do you complain so much about conditions in the state? Why don't you do something about them?" Hubbard asked, "What can I do?" His professor answered, "There's an election coming up this fall. Why don't you run for the Legislature and try to translate some of your dissatisfaction into effective legislative action?" Hubbard thought for a minute and said, determinedly, "All right, I will." His professor then made this offer: "If you run for the Legislature, we will give you time out from your classes for campaigning, with full credit for it toward your course as a 'practical application of political science.' If you are elected to the Legislature, we will give you time out to attend the sessions of the

Legislature, with full credit for it toward your course as an even greater 'practical application of political science.'"

Hubbard agreed and began his campaign with a will. His home town was Hodgenville, the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, and his legislative district covered Larue and Hart Counties, one of which normally voted Republican. Hubbard ran on the Democratic ticket.

He began his campaign in a unique and effective way. It was harvest time, and the farmers needed as many extra hands as they could get. Hubbard hired himself out to various farmers in his district for a few days at a time on the following stipulation: (1) that he would work during the day for a certain agreed amount, provided (2) that the farm family would give him an opportunity in the evening for a little politicking.

Hubbard made it clear to the voters in his district that he was not in the race for educational credit but because he wanted to get something started. He won the election.

Shortly after, Hubbard wrote me:

I have been shopping around to see who would be in this session of the Legislature, and from my observation there will be several young progressives present. I will try to contact most of them by December and exchange views with them.

When the Committee had its joint session at the Legislature to present the People's Legislative Program, there sat young Hubbard in the front row, his face beaming. He was translating his frustration with "things as they are" in Kentucky into action which might some day bring about "things as they should be."

18. THE GRASS ROOTS BEGIN TO SPROUT

THE one thing which was even more important to us than our reports was our community program. We felt that it was in the local community that our work would either come to fruition or fail. We realized that here again we were blazing a trail. Just as no pattern had existed for developing teamwork among the state-wide organizations, so no model had been available for setting up a state-wide program for local community improvement.

Further, we knew that local community-wide co-operation would be difficult to achieve, for in the smaller communities, particularly, personal relationships count for a great deal. Often cliques develop, attitudes become fixed, and lines of division become set. In such an atmosphere it is difficult to break down these barriers toward community co-operation.

Then, too, for the most part, community activities tend to concern themselves with specific segments of community life. Comparatively little recognition has been given to the over-all interest of the community. Yet it must be recognized that if any community is to prosper, it is this over-all interest which must be strengthened. It is a sad commentary that what is most

important and obvious is often the last thing to engage human attention.

We felt that our approach must be to the over-all community problems and that that was the only way to integrate the entire life of a community. Accordingly, within two years after the Committee's work started, we set up a Department of Community Service with a full-time director, for the purpose of helping to stimulate progress in our local communities.

It occurred to us that we could preach the gospel of better communities through the regular publicity channels through which the Committee had been operating. Accordingly, Station WHAS began to inject community development broadcasts into its "Kentucky on the March" series. Specific developments in Kentucky towns were dramatized. Interesting broadcasts had such subjects as the community recreation program in Glasgow; the development of tourist attractions in Mayfield; the story of how the citizens of Corbin, literally with their own hands, had built a road to the orphanage; and numerous others. These programs gave a real lift to the spirit and brought an enthusiastic response from our radio listeners.

Similar changes were made in the content of the "Kentucky on the March" column. Ewing Calloway wrote to local editors and organizations for reports of progress in community development. Each week for a considerable length of time he published some local success stories. One week it was about 3,500 Madison County school children who had been given an eye-screening test and about how it was done by volunteers working under expert direction. He paid tribute to the Lions Club of Madison County for furnishing glasses free to those children whose parents were unable to purchase them. Another item in the same program was the purchasing of toothbrushes at wholesale and furnishing them to the children of the schools at a cost of five cents each.

Another report told of a Kentucky corn derby, in which a group of farmers had a race to see who could produce the best and largest corn crop.

In Fulton, a town of about 7,000 people, Mr. Galloway told the story of how the city council built a \$200,000 water system and a \$40,000 flood-control system to prevent flash floods by a creek which runs through the heart of the city. He told of how the mayor of Lebanon contributed all of his salary of \$1,000 toward a fund to build a recreation park for people of all ages.

He told how the citizens of Bardstown and Nelson County had set up a free public library and how they planned to use the county school-bus system to take the books out into the rural areas of the county—how this small community spent more than \$10,000 to build a playground for colored people as a result of which Negro children enjoyed a supervised summer recreation program for the first time.

These and many other items of progress were reported week after week in this column. Not only did they give well-deserved recognition to those people who were doing something to improve their community, but they were causing people in other communities to say to themselves, "What are we doing to improve our own community?"

Meanwhile the Director of the Department of Community Service of the Committee traveled throughout the state in every direction. He covered some 28,000 miles in the first year of his activity and did everything he could to stimulate citizen interest and action in community affairs. He urged the people to work for vigorous community programs and for co-operation among all the organizations in the community in the solution of those problems that were community-wide. Everywhere he went he stressed the importance of the community as the foundation for national life in these words:

If we do not find the democratic way of life in our communities, then we will not find it at all. If our communities do not find it, then America cannot find it. As our communities go, so goes America. Let's make no mistake about that. The spiritual flow of life begins at the bottom of the spring—the community. Choke it off there and you have choked the nation. Pollute it there and you pollute the nation. Maintain it there—clear, fresh, abundant—and the nation will ever be sustained.

We soon realized that one man could not possibly begin to do the job by himself, and so we began pressing into service a number of our member organizations in promoting community development. We worked co-operatively with them in setting up programs for community building.

The Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs took on the responsibility for arousing their members to activity in local community work wherever their groups functioned. Regional meetings were held in Lexington, Danville, Middlesboro, Mammoth Cave, and Winchester.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce opened its state and local meetings to the Committee's program of community building. The Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs—16,000 strong, with member groups in practically every important city and town in Kentucky—included a community development program in its state conference. Our Director of Community Service met with the Federation and helped set up its conference in Louisville and a follow-up conference in Lexington.

We worked with other state-wide organizations to stimulate community action. The Kentucky Press Association, the Kentucky Pharmaceutical Association, and such organizations as the Congress of Parents and Teachers opened their publications to articles on community building which the Committee had prepared.

In this way we developed lines of communication into cities, towns, and rural communities. The message of building better

communities began to reach many places all over Kentucky, not from just one source but from many.

As a result, a new moral climate was created in these communities. Some of them seemed to be infused with the spirit of the times. Through the leadership of some of their outstanding citizens they went after community improvement with a will and entirely on their own.

A number of communities were stirred into action because of this moral climate which had been engendered by the Committee, though the Committee did not actively participate in their activities. Still others were moved to go forward as a direct result of the impact of the Committee and its Department of Community Service on the local community.

As heartening as anything that had happened in the life of the Committee was the eagerness of most of the communities of Kentucky, both large and small, to hear the story of the Committee at first hand from those intimately connected with it. Had the staff been ten times as large, it could not have filled the demands. But we did fill enough of them to give the people a first-hand idea of our objectives and of why and how we were trying to achieve them.

Once we were able to convince the people that we had no axe to grind, they received us with open arms. Even though they might not immediately have been moved to do something about their local problems, they seemed to get enough food for thought which sooner or later would be translated into action.

There was an interesting sidelight to this acceptance of the Committee in the local communities. Whereas on the state level, as previously indicated, and in and around Louisville, the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce and some of the larger industrialists and bankers would not support us, the Chambers of Commerce in many local communities appreciated and often were enthusiastic about the job we were trying to do. The grass-

roots businessmen understood our objectives far better than did the big industrialists and bankers.

The story of the path-finding project in Henderson has already been told. Almost at the same time that the Committee for Henderson was being formed, another community council was taking shape some three hundred miles up the river at Fort Thomas. The organization was called the Committee for Fort Thomas. It was made up of thirty-four member organizations and a number of delegates at large. It was formed at a meeting called by the mayor and city officials to carry forward a program of civic progress which was arrived at by a city-wide questionnaire distributed under the leadership of the Post-War Planning Committee.

The Fort Thomas plan for progress included a stadium, a swimming pool, a public auditorium, a city hall, and a library. Definite dates had been set for their completion. The stadium, financed by a \$65,000 bond issue voted in November, 1947, was completed. The swimming pool was slated for completion in 1949, the auditorium in 1953, the city hall and library in 1957.

Meanwhile the Committee for Fort Thomas tackled some civic problems of lesser magnitude. It campaigned successfully for the two bond issues voted upon in the November, 1947, election. It published five educational reports, prepared by teachers, supervisors, and administrative staffs of the schools, in co-operation with the Committee. These reports, mimeographed and distributed through the school system, were attractively illustrated by students of the school art department.

A real asset to the functioning of the Committee for Fort Thomas was the assistance of its city engineer, who sat in on all meetings in an advisory capacity. As a representative of government (in a job similar to that of a city manager) he kept the work of the Committee geared to the functioning of the non-partisan government of the city and gave it a continuity which is lacking in many community councils.

Acting on the encouragement given us by the development of the Henderson and Fort Thomas councils, we embarked on a campaign to form citizens' councils throughout the Commonwealth. Our thought was that if we could help to establish from fifteen to twenty citizens' councils, strategically located over the state, they in turn would have an important influence on the communities around them. Exploratory work for such councils was done in Murray, Paducah, Ashland, Springfield, Frankfort, and a number of other communities.

In April, 1947, the first community conference in Kentucky was held at Henderson. Since Henderson was, in effect, the pilot plant for our experiment in community organization, it was a fitting background for this meeting. Representatives came to the conference from seven states and from eleven Kentucky communities.

The conference began, rightly enough, with a combined church service involving all the churches in Henderson. It was fitting that a community which had established a moral climate for progress should begin a great conference on a spiritual plane. It was an exciting and rewarding two days, ending with a banquet at which practically every leader in Henderson was present. The report of the conference was published and spread throughout the state as an inspiration and an example for other Kentucky communities to follow.

Next we started a publication called *Your Community Reporter*, edited on a volunteer basis by Francele Armstrong, a journalist and publicity director for the Henderson Committee. The *Community Reporter* is a newsletter, issued periodically and circulated to a wide mailing list both within and outside the state. It carries news of community development and community councils, statements of philosophy concerning community work, and suggestions to local community leaders.

In order to strengthen and expand the community activities, we set up an advisory committee to work with our Director of

Community Service. From the outset the Director had conferred with a group at the University of Kentucky. This relationship was formalized in the appointment of a Community Committee.

So that we might render closer assistance to the community councils and to community work of all kinds, we decided to form regional centers for community development on a solid enough foundation to enable them to carry on more or less permanently.

Such a center was already functioning at the University of Kentucky, where the Sociology Department had set up a Consultation Service in Social Research, offering help to communities in conducting local fact-finding surveys and in interpreting results. The Rural Sociology Department had added a field worker to give help to small communities through the county farm agents. These University services were offered on a statewide basis.

Meanwhile our regional program got under way at Murray. A workshop on community development was organized under the joint sponsorship of the College and the Committee for Kentucky. A select group of civic leaders in the area and of college professors attended. They discussed such questions as how to operate a successful community council, how to get citizens interested in community affairs, how to solve community problems, and finally, what Murray College could do regionally for the community movement.

The workshop had far-reaching results. Out of it came a grant of funds by the Tennessee Valley Authority to set up a department of community service for the western Kentucky area. This grant provides for a full-time community man, directly responsible to the president of Murray College and working in co-operation with all the departments of the College. His program for the assistance of the communities of western

Kentucky is being worked out in co-operation with the Department of Community Service. The Committee for Kentucky helped to secure the grant.

A second workshop was held at Berea College, near the mountains in southeastern Kentucky. Here again a select group of college and civic leaders grappled with the problems of building better communities in the area. Developments are continuing in the region. The Committee will promote workshops in other regions of the state.

Community work in Kentucky got one of its biggest boosts when the General Education Board granted to the University of Kentucky a \$20,000 fund, to be matched by a similar amount from the University, for establishing a department of community service. This grant was secured through the joint efforts of the University of Kentucky and the Committee for Kentucky.

In addition to all the above activities on community improvement, the newly formed Agricultural and Industrial Development Board set up by the state government, with a budget of \$300,000 for the first two years, has established a Division of Community Service with a full-time man at the head. The Kentucky Chamber of Commerce, too, began thinking in terms of the over-all problems of the local community.

Since there were so many agencies now vitally interested in this great community problem, it occurred to us that there should be a thorough integration of all these programs so that, although each program was carried out by its own agency independently of the others, the programs themselves might be dovetailed by the leaders of each group in order to avoid unnecessary overlapping and achieve the greatest possible effectiveness. A meeting for this purpose was held early in January, 1949. The programs and objectives of each agency represented were thoroughly explored and the groundwork laid for future co-operation.

Right now, we are in the planning stage of a series of new radio programs which we think will have a salutary and constructive effect on community life in Kentucky. Our Executive Director, in his travels from community to community, has uncovered a number of basic problems. For example, in one community of 2500, the water supply is so muddy, both for drinking and for other purposes, that there is not even one laundry in that town; the neighboring towns call for the laundry and deliver it to service that community. In other communities the problems include inadequate schools, hospital, and recreational facilities. The problems are many and varied.

In the first of the broadcasts we plan to highlight these problems so that people in Kentucky will know the character of the difficulties which face their communities. Then will come a series of constructive broadcasts on solutions to these problems which have been successful elsewhere in Kentucky.

For example, there are several Kentucky communities which had a water-supply problem similar to the one indicated above and which have now solved that problem. It is our idea to discover which community did the best job in the solution of its water-supply problem and then prepare a broadcast giving in full detail how the job was done. This will be beamed through the state so that every Kentucky community which has a water-supply problem will be made aware of at least one solution.

We plan a similar approach to all other important problems. These broadcasts will be published and sent to the various communities throughout Kentucky.

It is our deep conviction that if we can develop the social skills necessary to stimulate community action and thereby strengthen community life in Kentucky, we shall have made an important contribution to democracy in America.

19.

THE LEADERS APPRAISE THE JOB

AS THE leaders of Kentucky began to understand that they were Kentuckians first and leaders of special-interest groups second, and that the well-being of every other group was essential to the well-being of their own—in short, that the social and the economic health of Kentucky were indivisible—the progress of Kentucky took a decided step forward. For it then became apparent that each group would be willing to lend a helping hand to other groups, not only through altruistic motives but because of an enlightened self-interest.

When we determined, therefore, to take stock of what had been accomplished, it became a matter of special concern to us to get an appraisal of the job by the leaders of the various groups in the state. That appraisal served several purposes. First, it gave us and them a better perspective on the job we had done. It also served as a guide to the job we still had to do. Second, in order to appraise the job, the leaders had to crystallize their own thinking about it. As they set out to express themselves on what the job had been like, they would themselves be the more impressed. Third, in order to get continued unity of action

among all groups, it would be helpful for each of the leaders to see what the others thought about the work.

We started with a newspaper and radio man's point of view and asked Edwin J. Paxton, Jr., to send us his appraisal. Mr. Paxton is General Manager of Radio Station WKYB, in Paducah, and is affiliated with one of the most important newspapers in the state, the Paducah Sun-Democrat, which is owned by his family. This was his comment:

I became a member of the Committee for Kentucky board of directors only a few months ago. In consequence of my having no part in its accomplishments to date, I can evaluate the results of its work to date objectively.

The Committee for Kentucky has, to a remarkable extent, already accomplished its objectives. It has not only identified the state's needs; it has uncovered, through exhaustive research by qualified people, the means required to fill those needs. And it has made an excellent beginning on informing Kentuckians both about those needs and their requirements for fulfillment.

The Committee has, for the first time, achieved co-ordinated effort among Kentucky farmers, labor, and a considerable section of the business community behind a single project. The project itself is the most important that is ever likely to be undertaken by any state's citizenry. I am proud to have the chance to take even a belated part in it.

Next we asked for a statement from a member of the faculty of the University of Kentucky, Miss Chloe Gifford, who for two years was president of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, comprising some 16,000 club women throughout the state. She wrote:

As a director of the Committee for Kentucky I have given much thought, time, and energy to the promotion of the work this committee has valiantly carried on in the interest of a "greater Kentucky." It has been a thrilling experience to me to sit around a table with the other directors and listen to the experts who, after months and years of research in all phases of Kentucky life, give a true word

picture of the conditions in our beloved state. I have seen the men and women of this committee give unselfishly of their time and talents without any thought of remuneration or personal aggrandizement, but with one single thought in mind—to see Kentucky take her rightful place as a leader in these United States.

I have watched the work of this Committee from its very inception with great interest. There have been mixed sentiments of our citizens concerning it. A few have bitterly opposed it; some have been indifferent; and, I am happy to say, many have been most enthusiastic.

The committee has already accomplished much toward making the people of the state face realistically the numerous problems that confront us, and I firmly believe that in the years to come the exhaustive and comprehensive studies, the progressive and far-reaching legislative programs compiled by this group will go down in the history of Kentucky as the most constructive contribution of this century.

I am proud to have had even a small part in this great movement for human betterment, and by working with this fine group of Kentuckians I feel that I have partially paid my debt for the privilege of living in this commonwealth.

Dr. R. B. Atwood, president of Kentucky State College, has an important place in the field of Negro education in America. He wrote:

Most certainly do I believe that the Committee is absolutely correct in its plan to find and disseminate the true facts on the status of affairs in the state.

Most certainly do I believe that the personnel of the Committee should be truly representative of all classes, creeds, and races within the population.

I am not convinced that the majority of Kentuckians are ready to accept the true facts about their state or the organizational set-up of the Committee.

I wish that they were ready but unfortunately, while the Committee works zealously to get democracy to work in the interest of all the people, there are thousands of others who work just as hard

to keep democracy from doing just that. Only the future will tell what effect has been the work of the Committee.

The Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation was represented in this appraisal by J. E. Stanford, its Executive Secretary since March, 1943, and by Joe Betts, Director of Information. Mr. Stanford has been the guiding spirit of the Farm Bureau Federation during the period of its greatest expansion, when its membership grew from 16,000 members to its present membership of about 54,000 farm families. Joe Betts has been a director of the Committee, representing the farm group, from its beginning. As a matter of fact, it was he who at the very first meeting suggested the formation of the Committee and was, in a sense, its "intellectual author." The joint statement of Mr. Stanford and Mr. Betts follows:

The Committee for Kentucky has done much to start the Commonwealth and its people on a road to progress that should mean much to the economic, social, and spiritual development of both. Its reports have focused attention on the ills that were hindering development and point the way to a new and brighter future.

In addition to this, the formation of the Committee for Kentucky brought together powerful organized groups to consider many things common to all. One of the results of this was the growth of a faith and confidence between these groups that was lacking almost entirely before. It should result in only good things for all the people of the Commonwealth.

As for agriculture, the sympathetic and favorable consideration of other groups and the passage of certain laws dealing with the welfare of farmers are traceable to the Committee for Kentucky.

Most of all, the Committee for Kentucky shows a strife-torn world a way in which we can live at peace with each other.

Next we hear from Ed Weyler, Secretary-Treasurer of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor, of which Mr. Weyler has been one of the leading spirits for eight years. He is a labor statesman—a man of courage, vision, and integrity. From the

beginning, he has served as a director and as treasurer of the Committee. His statement follows:

It is my opinion that the Committee for Kentucky has been the most outstanding—in fact, it ranks on a level of its own—group that has ever professed to work in the interests of Kentucky, and a group that has accomplished more than any other such group of which I have knowledge.

In the beginning, I felt the Committee was taking a somewhat negative approach, but I realize now with great satisfaction that the work of the Committee has forced the formation of groups taking a positive approach to specific questions—groups which doubtless would never have been formed were it not for the work of the Committee for Kentucky.

The fact that the last two sessions of the Kentucky Legislature considered the Committee's recommendations and enacted accordingly is most complimentary and offers proof positive of lawmakers' respect for the Committee.

The community activities and accomplishments that have sprung from the recommendations of the Committee would never have been born had it not been for the leadership and inspiration the Committee furnished. I could rattle on for pages, but I think, to sum up the appraisal in just a few words, it would be fair to say that the Committee for Kentucky has been the instrument that taught the leaders of all segments of Kentucky society to live together and work together on a plane of mutual understanding and trust, and to view the facts, ugly as they may be, without whimpering or condemning, but with a realistic, constructive attitude.

One of the ablest labor leaders of the state, Al Whitehouse, president of the Kentucky State Congress of Industrial Organizations Council, was a director of the Committee from its very beginning. He brought to the Committee a devotion to the people of Kentucky that was extraordinary. This is what he had to say:

The Committee for Kentucky has made a magnificent contribution to the forward progress of our great state and to the well-being of its people. It is a splendid example of democracy in action as it

encourages and leads people to treat their social and economic problems in an intelligent manner. Whenever the initiative, ingenuity, and brain power of all the people are actively channeled in one direction—that being the general good—there can be only one result—a richer, fuller community life than is separately obtainable. The Committee for Kentucky's fight is the people's fight. The Committee is truly Kentucky on the March.

John W. Brooker, former Director of Public Relations and later Executive Secretary of the powerful Kentucky Education Association, had, from the beginning, also been a director of the Committee, representing education. Because his group probably has the greatest influence in the legislative halls of Kentucky his words are of particular importance. They follow:

It is extremely difficult to fully evaluate the work of the Committee for Kentucky at this time. Its scope has been so great and its influence so far-reaching that its real value can be determined only over a longer period of time. The Committee has laid the groundwork for a greater Kentucky. It has developed a pattern of co-operative thinking and planning that will be followed at both the state and local levels for years to come. It has brought together divergent elements and groups in our society and has welded them together on one task, that of building a better state. The problems have been identified and attacked. Facts have been secured and the people have been informed. The attitude of the people has been changed from one of "defeatism" to that of a determination to do something about the shortcomings of the state. In brief, the Committee for Kentucky has created a climate in which Kentucky can grow and flourish in the years ahead.

This does not mean that there have been no immediate results. To the contrary, the work of the Committee would have been worth many times the effort if nothing further happens as a result of its existence. Much of the beneficial legislation enacted in Kentucky during the past three legislative sessions may be credited either directly or indirectly to the Committee. Many improvements in education, health, welfare, and other governmental services at the local level may likewise be attributed to the influence of the Committee. In the field of my primary interest, namely, public education,

the minimum school term has been extended by one month, the average teacher's salary has been increased by more than fifty per cent, the permissive local tax levy for school purposes has been doubled in county school districts, and school enrollment and attendance have shown healthy increases in Kentucky during the life of the Committee.

Perhaps as important as the appraisal of anyone was that of Dr. H. L. Donovan, president of the University of Kentucky. Dr. Donovan is a distinguished educator. He was so recognized recently by the United States government when it sent him to make a study of higher education in Germany.

Dr. Donovan's opinion was of special interest to us since he did not actively participate in the work of the Committee, either as a director or as an expert. He, as much as any one person in Kentucky, however, immediately grasped the meaning and the purpose of the Committee. The fact that eleven of the fourteen reports presented by the Committee will have been made by members of the faculty of the University of Kentucky should be an evidence of his interest.

Further, it was Dr. Donovan who conceived the idea of and was primarily instrumental in securing the \$20,000 from the Rockefeller-endowed General Education Board for the University to carry on the community service work of the Committee and requesting the trustees of the University of Kentucky to approve a similar grant from the University. To the Committee, Dr. Donovan has indeed been a guide, philosopher, and friend. His statement follows:

The work of the Committee for Kentucky has challenged every thinking citizen in this Commonwealth. It has made some people angry, others have taken a vow to improve our conditions, and but few have been indifferent to its report. I would say that it has done more to arouse us from our lethargy than any other report that has ever been made to the people of this state.

You have given us facts, many of them ugly facts that cannot be

disputed. You have been constructive in making recommendations, and your committee has not neglected to make the people acquainted with these facts. While the report has taken some glamour from Kentucky, nevertheless it has dealt with realities that our people must face if we are to play our part among the states of the nation and make our contribution to society.

The good work of the Committee for Kentucky has already produced many excellent results. It will take a decade or more to give it a proper evaluation. However, I have seen enough progress come in the state as a result of the work already done that I do not hesitate to predict that over a period of years the work of the Committee for Kentucky will result in profoundly influencing the trend of affairs in this Commonwealth. Your report will eventually become one of Kentucky's treasured historical documents.

We of the Committee have accepted these tributes with profound humility.

20. FROM BLUE RIVER, KENTUCKY, TO TOKYO, JAPAN

THE people who worked so hard to bring the Committee for Kentucky into being had the welfare of their own state uppermost in their minds and hearts, but they realized that they also were citizens of America and, in a measure, of the world. Although they derived deep satisfaction from what the Committee had accomplished in Kentucky, they were pleased with the reception which the Committee for Kentucky idea received not only in other states but also abroad.

After the Committee had gotten well under way, inquiries about its work and requests for its reports began coming in from every one of the forty-eight states. People in West Virginia, California, and other states began to talk about forming committees for their respective states.

In August, 1948, the immediate past president of the Illinois Junior Chamber of Commerce wrote:

I have been appointed chairman of a committee to consider the formation in Illinois of an organization patterned on the Committee for Kentucky.

The story of your achievement in Kentucky is one of the most inspiring that I have ever encountered. It is my hope that in Illinois

we can take similar action against our social ills before these ills have brought us to the point of desperation.

It is likely that we shall be seeking your advice frequently if our proposed program goes forward.

Illinois is usually considered an industrial state and by many a progressive state. Yet here was evidence that it, too, as progress was concerned, was a "long way from home." Perhaps the man wasn't so far wrong who recently said, "The Committee for Kentucky idea is applicable to every backward state, of which there are forty-eight in America." In one month we received requests for information and for reports from ten Kentucky communities, from twelve states outside of Kentucky, and from Hawaii and Puerto Rico.

The first inquiry from abroad came in the form of a request for our Report on Education from the superintendent of schools of Auckland, New Zealand. We haven't the slightest idea how the Committee for Kentucky story had traveled that vast distance, but naturally we were delighted to comply with the request. Subsequently, requests from abroad began coming in in a steady stream. From the Education Division of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs in San Jose, Costa Rica, came the following letter:

In order to interest local civic and business organizations in an objective analysis of the resources and problems of Costa Rica, I should like to acquaint them with the excellent reports of the Committee for Kentucky. They could serve as models of presenting simply and graphically valuable information about this country in order to arouse public interest in the chief problems which the Costa Rican government and public must tackle. The 10 areas listed in your Committee's activities are exactly the same fields on which an equally stimulating investigation and publication of Costa Rica could be based.

From the Foreign Relations Department of the Royal Netherlands Industries Fair in Utrecht came the following letter:

We are taking steps to begin in the province of Utrecht, as a first experiment in the Netherlands, a Provincial Development Committee to some extent analogous to what your Association is doing in your country.

We should therefore be very glad to come into contact with your organization in order to exchange experiences and suggestions and to receive publications.

We feel that, in the beginning, we shall probably be your debtor, but hope to develop our action quick enough to be able to send you also interesting material.

Before long nearly every mail brought requests for materials from almost everywhere. There were letters from Ottawa and Winnipeg in Canada; from Truro, Nova Scotia; from Guayama, Puerto Rico; from Havana, Cuba; from London, England; and from Christ's Church, New Zealand.

In the spring of 1948 we received from Paris, France, the following letter from the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO):

Dr. Rex of Teachers' College, Columbia, who is serving as a Consultant here at Unesco for a few months, has suggested that documents prepared by the Committee for Kentucky have been particularly well done and would serve as excellent examples at Unesco's Seminar this summer. This Seminar will be preparing materials on the United Nations and its Agencies for use in the schools of many countries.

In August, 1948, we received a request for some of the Committee's reports from the little known town of Blue River, Kentucky. In the same mail we received a request from Tokyo, Japan, from Dr. Rose Cologne, Specialist in Community Adult Education, who was working with the Civil Information and Education Section of the Army in Tokyo. Dr. Cologne's secretary wrote:

Miss Cologne is, at the present time, working with the Army in Tokyo, Japan, for three months. I received a letter from her today

in which she requested that I write to you to ask if you would be willing to send her a complete set of bulletins published by the Committee for Kentucky so that she might give them to the Education Section in Japan.

She said that a committee over there is working on improving conditions in Japan and needs suggestions on how to develop materials for use with the Japanese people. She has not seen anything that is as well prepared as those from the Committee for Kentucky.

Six months later, on her return to America, Miss Cologne wrote:

The reports arrived in good time and the Japanese were delighted with them.

It is a long way from Blue River, Kentucky, to Tokyo, Japan, but an idea can span the distance almost instantly.

21. NEW HORIZONS FOR MY OLD KENTUCKY HOME

IN THE process of taking stock, we realized that we had made a number of mistakes. We can truthfully say that they were honest mistakes and that we tried to correct them as soon as we discovered them. We were certain, however, that it was no mistake to tell the unvarnished truth to the people. In a similar situation in East St. Louis, Illinois, the Chamber of Commerce said: "To mean anything, our resentment should be a motivating force which should rid the community of those things that are unsavory." That is exactly how we felt about it.

But if we were sorry for our mistakes we also had many compensations. We derived deep satisfaction from the fact that we had done this job ourselves, without any outside help. About this we felt a little bit like the Texan who was greeting a friend just arrived from Boston. He said to the Bostonian, "I am so glad you are here today. You will get to see the parade." The Bostonian asked, "What parade?" The Texan said, "Beaumont Day." The Bostonian said, "What is Beaumont Day?" The Texan replied, "Haven't you heard? Beaumont was a Texan who, with a band of twenty Texans withstood an attack from about two hundred Mexicans for four days. They fought it out

to the last man. They never budged an inch. They never went for help.

"But, of course, our real parade is on Alamo Day." The Bostonian asked, "What is Alamo Day?" The Texan replied, "That is a real saga. At the battle of the Alamo some two hundred Texans withstood an army of four thousand Mexicans for almost ten days. They fought it out to the last man. They never budged an inch. They never went for help."

By this time the Bostonian, with a feeling of pride in his own locality, said, "We too have a parade up our way this time of year." The Texan asked, "What parade is that?" The Bostonian said, "Paul Revere Day." "Paul Revere?" said the Texan, his lip curling with contempt. "Why that so and so went for help, didn't he?"

There were many other satisfactions. For example, we had the knowledge that never before in Kentucky had so many skills ever been mobilized for one great purpose. There were skills for organizing, for business management, for money raising. There were literary skills, artistic skills, technical skills, scientific skills. There were skills in public relations, in advertising, in research. There were oratorical skills, yes, even political skills, although not in a partisan sense. And it made us feel good to see how these skills were thrown into the common pool by experts in so many fields, gladly and willingly and without any thought of recompense.

Perhaps the deepest satisfaction we derived was from the affirmation of the power inherent in a spiritual idea. The Committee had no governmental authority; certainly it did not have any lush funds; it did not lobby for any one purpose. But it had a spiritual idea that appealed to the minds and the hearts of literally thousands of Kentuckians. It gave them something to respond to. It satisfied an innate yearning that every good citizen has to make a contribution to the welfare of his community.

These are some of the satisfactions we have when looking back.

Looking forward, we have cause for satisfaction too. We see a people aware of their shortcomings and determined to do something about them. We see a leadership which until recently had been pulling apart now pulling together for a common objective. We see community groups all over the state beginning to think together to provide a fuller and richer life for their citizens. We see some permanent organizations beginning to be firmly established to bring a better day to Kentucky.

There is the University of Kentucky program for community service. That program now has sufficient funds assured to continue for four years. We are confident that the program will be carried on far beyond the four-year period.

We have the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce just beginning to sink its teeth into the industrial problems of Kentucky, after plowing the ground for two years. We are confident that it, too, will make an important contribution to the welfare of our state.

As this is written there has just come into being the Agricultural and Industrial Development Board, which owes its existence to the last Legislature. This Board has as one of its major purposes the development not only of Kentucky's natural resources but also of its human resources. The Legislature said it both with faith and with works. It gave the Board a budget of \$300,000 for the two-year period. The Board, which has just been appointed by the Governor, represents a broad cross section of Kentucky. It has an important challenge before it. We are confident that in time it will meet that challenge.

None of these organizations was in existence a short three years ago. The moral climate in Kentucky developed in these three years had a good deal to do with bringing them into being.

Early in January, 1948, the directors of the Committee took

counsel and reached the unprecedented decision of voting that the Committee cease operations on March 1, 1950. There were several reasons for this momentous step. First, none of us believed in self-perpetuating committees. These are often organized and function for a worthwhile purpose at the beginning, but do not have the sense to quit when that purpose has been accomplished.

There was the classic example of an important and effective group which was organized to combat prohibition and its evils during the 1920's. When prohibition was finally repealed, you would have imagined that this group would proudly go out of existence. Instead, it turned up later under the same name but in another field entirely. It just did not know when to quit.

The directors of the Committee felt confident that by March, 1950, the development of the moral climate for progress, which in 1948 was already in an advanced stage, would have been firmly established. By that time all fourteen of the Committee's reports would have been made to the people of Kentucky and brought up to date. By that time its leadership education program would be well under way. By that time the several community service programs in the state would have been well established. By that time the people of Kentucky would have become thoroughly aware of their problems and would be actively doing something about them. That would be a good time, we decided, to lay down our arms honorably.

It was our feeling, however, that some form of local citizen's organization ought to be set up to carry on programs for community improvement. The University of Kentucky project was, in a measure, a technical and an advisory one. The citizens would have to do the work themselves.

Accordingly, as we continue developing the leadership education program in the last two years of the Committee's ex-

istence, we shall try to stimulate the formation of citizens' councils in every local community with which we come in contact. Where that is not possible, it is our purpose to determine who are the leaders in each community and to list them carefully.

About the middle of January, 1950, we plan to call a statewide meeting of the leaders of those communities which already have community councils. We also intend to invite the leaders of communities in which there are none but who might be ready to form one. We shall present to these people a carefully thought-out plan and program for organizing in every community in the state local citizens' councils, along the pattern of the New York State Citizens Council and the New Jersey Citizens Conference. It is our hope that these local councils will also form a state council for community improvement. This will serve as a medium for the exchange of information and for mutual help among the communities of Kentucky. Progressive communities banded together for progressive action are bound to insure continuing progress.

Having reached the decision to bring the Committee's work to an end on March 1, 1950, we determined to leave to the people of Kentucky a legacy in the form of a final report to be called "Blueprint for a Great Kentucky." This is intended to be the last of the reports. It is, in effect, to be not only a summation of them all but also a glimpse into the future.

Since the essence of the Committee for Kentucky idea has been co-operation, it was thought fitting that the final report should be a tremendous co-operative enterprise on the part of some of the best minds in Kentucky. Accordingly the final report will be broken down into twelve sections—one for each of the twelve fields covered by our reports. There will be a section on agriculture, one on education, one on health, and so on.

For the preparation of each section, a committee was appointed consisting of three of Kentucky's most distinguished experts in that field. One of these three was the man who had made the original report. The twelve committees will meet first as a body for an exchange of ideas on how to approach their individual tasks and for agreement as to general direction. It should be a monumental report.

In September, 1948, the directors of the Committee for Kentucky met to discuss and chart the nature of this "Blueprint." It was decided that the focal point of the report would be a carefully thought out and practical plan for the development of new local industries situated right at or near Kentucky's natural resources, developed by Kentuckians, with Kentucky capital. This, together with the bringing of new industry into the state, offered the most promising prospect for improving the economic base of Kentucky. For, if a number of factories—both large and small—could be established, it would be especially helpful to the economy of the interior of the state.

Industry in Kentucky has grown and developed along the Ohio River, while the interior communities have stayed predominantly agricultural and have suffered as a consequence. Industry in the interior is a "must" in order to round out the economy of the state. If this could be done, not only would the standard of living of our people be raised but we should also be calling a halt to, or at least slowing down, the tragic exodus of some of the best brains in Kentucky. Under such a program we should be able to offer opportunities to our young men of ability such as we have never offered before.

Having thus indicated some of the means of increasing Kentucky's tax base, the report would next explore what it would take in the way of dollars, both as capital expenditure and as annual budget, to bring Kentucky up to the level of the national average in education, health, welfare, and other social services.

To meet the huge increase in the annual budget which this

report should reveal as necessary, we plan to recommend a long-range tax program, based on an estimate of the expected industrial growth of Kentucky which we hope will be brought about by both the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce and the Agricultural and Industrial Development Board. For we propose to make it clear that our proposals are to be based on Kentucky's ability to pay. To bring ideas to reality they must be established on a practical base.

When it comes to the capital expenditure to bring our social services up to the national average, we rather expect that the sum required will be staggering. For this purpose we may recommend a long-term bond issue in a sum sufficient to start the rebuilding of the physical plant of our state. Although the next two generations in Kentucky will probably have to pay for it, it seems fair and reasonable that this should be so, for they will be the greatest beneficiaries of this bond issue.

It should be emphasized, of course, that it will be the people who must decide not only what money is to be raised for these purposes but how it is to be raised. We propose merely to make some suggestions as to how it may be done in order to set the people to thinking and to stimulate discussion on the subject.

In addition to preparing a program of policy, a program of action, and a schedule of expenditures as noted above, each committee will determine which of the programs lend themselves to legislative enactment. The committee will then prepare both an immediate legislative program for the 1950 session and a long-range program for the years to come. The legislative programs of all the committees will be co-ordinated and prepared for presentation to the Legislature.

It is our plan to publicize this report in the widest possible way throughout Kentucky. We plan to publish it in pamphlet or book form and distribute it as far as we can to the members belonging to the eighty-eight organizations which presently comprise the Committee for Kentucky. We propose to dis-

tribute it for use in every one of the state's twenty-five colleges and universities and to make copies available to every library in the state. We hope to be able to prepare enough copies to distribute to each of the 20,000 seniors in the state's high schools.

We plan to condense the total report into a series of fifteen newspaper articles and to ask every one of the state's newspapers, both daily and weekly, to run these articles serially. A poll of the state's newspapers indicated that 95 per cent of those answering were interested in running this series. We expect to have these fifteen newspaper articles dramatized into a series of radio programs and broadcast on every radio station in the state.

We propose to distribute a copy of this report to every member of the Legislature in time for the 1950 session; to the Governor; and to all administrative officers. Finally, we plan to ask for a hearing before a joint session of the Legislature early in January, 1950, at which each section of the report will be presented to the Legislature by the chairmen of the respective committees, with the president of the Committee for Kentucky summing up the total report.

Through these means the people of Kentucky will not only have a course charted, but they will be made thoroughly aware of its general direction.

We propose to place this report before the people of Kentucky with the following letter of transmittal:

"People of Kentucky, here is a 'Blueprint for a Great Kentucky.' It is non-partisan, non-political. This program will insure a better life for every Kentucky citizen. It will enable Kentucky to take its rightful place among the progressive states of this nation.

"You, the people of Kentucky, can have as much or as little of this program as you are willing to work for and as you are willing and able to pay for. You must make the decision. The future of Kentucky lies in your hands, for only the people of

Kentucky can correct the ills of Kentucky, and only the people of Kentucky can restore Kentucky to its inherent greatness."

A great day is coming for Kentucky—for it has all the elements of greatness. It has a beautiful land. It is blessed with natural resources in great abundance. It has people of courage and character. And the people of Kentucky have begun to share a vision together. They are beginning to realize that the future of Kentucky and the future of democracy in Kentucky lie in their own hands. They are beginning to understand the value of pulling together, of working together. With such an understanding they cannot help but go forward.

One of the versions of the origin of the word "Kentucky" is "Ken-Ta-Teh"—an Indian word meaning "land of tomorrow." If the people of Kentucky can work together to solve their problems, and to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, they will indeed make Kentucky a land of tomorrow.

I choose to believe that the time is coming when every Kentucky child will have a real opportunity for a good education, for good health, and for a promising economic future.

I choose to believe that the time is coming when every Kentucky family will have the opportunity for a fuller and richer life that should be the heritage of every American.

I choose to believe that the time is coming when every Kentuckian will feel that he is a shareholder in our democracy and that he has a real stake, therefore, in defending and preserving it.

I choose to believe that the time is coming when the people of Kentucky, by pulling together, will be closer to the brotherhood of man than they have been in their entire history. Then, when that day comes, and only then, will the new horizons for my old Kentucky home come fully into view. Then, and only then, shall we be able for the first time to sing truthfully, "The sun shines bright in my old Kentucky home."

EPILOGUE: WHERE CAN YOU GO FROM HERE?

THE most tragic thing in a democracy is the feeling on the part of the individual citizen that he does not count; that, after all, he has but one vote; that as an individual he can accomplish little. He knows that the sum total of many citizens does, indeed, count. Somehow the thought is vague and not very comforting. 't is my deep conviction that the individual citizen can make his influence felt. Every citizen who has the will to do it can make democracy a little more effective in his community. But he must first fully understand the position of the citizen in a democracy.

The basic difference between a democracy and a totalitarian state is its attitude toward the individual. In a totalitarian state, *the individual is so subordinate to the state that almost every important move is controlled.* Someone once defined a totalitarian state as a "state in which whatever is not prohibited is compulsory."

The basic philosophy of a democracy is that the state was made for the individual; that the dignity and worth of the human personality transcends all else. Therefore, you, citizen of our democracy, should know that the state was made for you—

to enhance your well-being, to enable you to achieve a fuller and richer life, to enable you to develop your talents to their maximum. But you, citizen, must also understand that you cannot get this free. For every privilege you receive you owe an obligation of service.

David E. Lilienthal, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, recently proposed that every citizen in our country be made subject to a draft for public service for a few years in time of peace. That was carrying this idea of obligation to its logical conclusion.

Then, too, citizen of our democracy, you must have the courage of your ideals. I know that our ideals of democracy have received many brutal kicks in recent years. I know that we have been tempted from time to time to worship strange idols on the ground that our democracy was a weak and decadent thing. I know that many of us approach the ideal of democracy as if it were something weak and effeminate, as if it were a sissy sentiment—especially for a businessman—as if we were rather ashamed to be caught thinking about it.

You, citizen of our democracy, must return to a basic faith in the soundness of the judgment of our people. You must have a profound faith not only that our democracy can work but that it is still the best system that has yet been devised by free men for free men.

How, then, citizen, can you acquire the courage to renew your faith in our democracy and to meet your obligation of service? How can you translate democratic faith into democratic action? How can you meet the challenge of our times?

This book is intended to suggest a method—not the method, please remember, but a method. With our method merely as a base, you can develop your own method to suit your own particular community. And it can be successful, for if we did it in

Kentucky it can be done in every state in America. Yes, in every democracy in the world.

If you do attempt it, you will make some very remarkable discoveries. You will find that some extraordinary things will happen in your community. You will find that, as more and more people are drawn into the common effort, the results for the community in general—and for the people, in particular—will be far greater than you ever imagined. You will find that a great many people whom you never knew before have the same desire that you have to serve their community.

You will find, before long, that things are beginning to happen in your community. Those charged with the responsibility of leadership will be vying with each other to see who can make the greatest contribution. You will find a profound change in the basic philosophy of your community. Whereas previously there has been a tendency to pull apart, that tendency will be reversed and your community will begin to pull together.

Before long you will begin to realize that your community is part of a greater plan; that the same thing is happening in other communities in your state, in other states of the nation—yes, even in other nations. You will find that you, in your small way, are making a contribution to the brotherhood of man.

The historian Arnold Toynbee has developed the theory that civilizations rise and fall in direct proportion to their ability to meet the challenge of their times. The same is true of individuals. The totalitarians have issued a challenge to our democracy. By making our democracy vital and strong in our local communities we can meet that challenge and emerge triumphant in a way we never dared dream.

Is it worth the effort? Is it worth trying? Certainly it will be no easy task, but since when have Americans of courage and character been stopped by difficulties?

You will find that, in direct proportion as you dream for your

community, so will come your accomplishments. For man's accomplishments are limited only by the scope of his imagination.

If the going gets tough, improvise your way out. Remember that only free men are free to improvise. As a matter of fact, we of the Committee for Kentucky are improvising right at this moment as this is being written. For we want to try out new techniques to stimulate our communities to progressive action.

We are improvising a community caravan—a 33-foot trailer—in which Jim Armstrong, our Director of Community Service, is proposing to drive from community to community to preach the gospel of community action. He will have in that trailer all the aids that the best brains in the Committee can develop to help him with his task.

It is equipped with a public address system to make it easy to speak to gatherings in the various communities. It has a moving picture projection machine and a number of films and many slides demonstrating the work of the Committee. It has copies of all the Committee for Kentucky's reports and other materials published by the Committee. It has a library on community work which will be made available to all interested. Finally, it has a small meeting room in which the leaders in the various communities can gather to discuss their local problems with our staff.

Maurice Bement, our Executive Director, right now is improvising in local communities in another way. He is spending a few days in each local community in Kentucky, trying to persuade the heads of each organized group to use our reports as the basis of a series of programs in order to acquaint their members with conditions in Kentucky.

While he was in the midst of this first venture in Somerset, we improvised some more. It occurred to us that, if a key person in Somerset could call together the heads of each of the nine

organized groups in the community, he might be able to sell them the idea of a joint meeting of the members of all of these organizations. They would come together for a common purpose—in this case to hear the story of the Committee for Kentucky.

It developed that a key person in the situation did indeed call a meeting of the heads of these nine organizations. A joint evening meeting was suggested. In the course of the discussion they improvised some more. They agreed to make the week of January 24, 1949, "Community Week" in Somerset. There were programs throughout the week highlighting the community and what it meant to the people. It culminated in a joint meeting of the members of all the nine organizations toward the end of the week, addressed by me as president of the Committee.

This meeting enabled us to acquaint the entire leadership of that community with the work of the Committee; it helped to give impetus to the study of each of our reports by all the groups; most importantly, it laid the groundwork for the community's pulling together for other purposes as well. It may ultimately lead to the formation of a citizens' council.

The most fascinating thing about improvising in the field of social progress is that it never ends. The Committee for Kentucky has set in motion forces which will move on and on into the future. As these forces go forward, so will the people of Kentucky go on to a better day.

APPENDIX A

COMMITTEE FOR KENTUCKY PLAN FOR A LEADERSHIP EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY SERVICE PROGRAM TO STIMULATE CITIZEN ACTION IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES OF KENTUCKY

PREFACE

It has become the deep conviction of many people that the hope of democracy lies in the local community; that the battle for democracy will be won or lost in the local community; that as our local communities are strong, so will our America be strong.

We believe that the local community is the training ground for the leaders of America. We believe that more and more problems must be attacked and solved at home—in the local community—rather than at some distant headquarters in the state or in the nation. We believe that it is of the utmost importance that the people of any community understand the total problems and opportunities of their community. We believe that there is a definite need for a connecting link between our communities and our State. Finally, we believe that if all groups in every American community can get together to discuss, work, and plan to solve their local problems, our democracy will become so strong that it will not only be able to meet every challenge, but it will actually grow stronger with each challenge.

Because of these beliefs, we offer the following plan to stimulate citizen action in the local communities of Kentucky:

OBJECTIVE

1. To make Committee for Kentucky reports and other materials available to clubs, organizations, and civic leaders, and to urge their use for programs within the community.
2. To promote a better understanding of the nature of the com-

munity and of community development through programs and speeches before local clubs and organizations.

3. To encourage community leaders, organizations, and citizens to think about the importance of their own community and to promote an active, cooperative interest in its over-all development.
4. To encourage citizens to come together to discuss their local problems and to plan effective programs of action for their solution through community studies and cooperative action.
5. To list local leadership; to appraise leadership availability and interest in the formation of local and state citizens councils. To list major local problems and opportunities.
6. To promote a better understanding between the local community and the State so that our citizens can better understand how the local community fits into state development.

PLAN

1. We propose to divide the State into nine areas, each with one town which will serve as a center of operations for all the towns in that area. These nine areas are listed at the end of this report.
2. In order to establish effective contacts in a particular area we will ask the heads of various state organizations for a list of their local representatives in all the towns in that area. The state leaders will also be asked to write directly to these representatives, urging their cooperation.

These state groups will include the Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation, the Kentucky Education Association, the State Health Department, the Kentucky Press Association, the Kentucky Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, the Kentucky Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the Kentucky Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Kentucky Federation of Labor, and the Kentucky State C. I. O. Council. It is interesting to note that every one of the above organizations is a member of the Committee for Kentucky.

3. In the initial contact in the community, we will call on the heads of clubs, organizations, and college presidents, make available to them a set of the reports of the Committee for

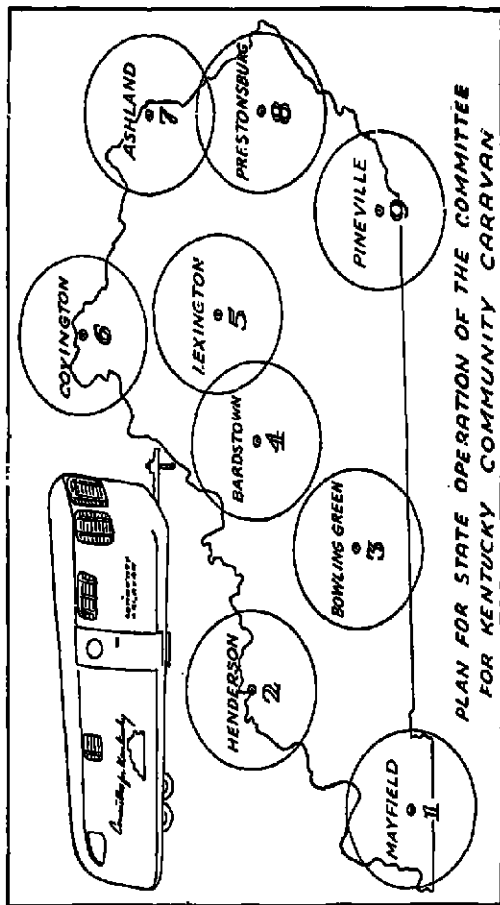
Kentucky, and urge their use as program material for their meetings.

4. During the initial visit, we will also present to these leaders a suggested outline for a community program, including a prospectus for "Community Week," as developed in Somerset. We will offer the services of the Committee's personnel for speaking engagements, providing a sufficient number can be scheduled within a concentrated period.
5. If the community desires assistance on surveys of specific problems, we will refer these requests to the Bureau of Community Service of the University of Kentucky or of Murray State College, to the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce, to the Agricultural and Industrial Development Board, or to any other established agency set up and competent to advise on the particular subject.
6. If a sufficient interest has been engendered through the initial contact, we will return later to the community for specific club and organization programs.
7. If the community visited is sufficiently considered an area of influence, and if sufficient interest develops, we will offer our services to that community to work with leaders on planning of a community conference, workshop, or a "Community Week," such as was held in Somerset the week of January 24.
8. If the various groups in a community are sufficiently interested in a joint meeting of the members of all the groups, the president of the Committee for Kentucky will be available for a limited number of such engagements, to address such meetings and to discuss ways and means of joining the total forces of the leadership of the community for the total betterment of the entire community.
9. When we have finished in any one area, we will invite the leaders of all the communities in that area to a meeting, for an exchange of ideas and to discuss a plan for cooperative regional activity.
10. We will prepare a report on each community, listing the civic leaders and the major problems and opportunities of the community, for use by other agencies in the State.
11. We will begin operation under this plan in the Bowling Green-Glasgow area during the week of February 6, 1949, using as

headquarters the Committee for Kentucky Community Caravan. This is a 33-foot trailer, specially equipped for community service purposes, with a loud speaker system, a moving picture projector, a library on community, a small meeting room, and living quarters for the staff.

12. On or about March 10, we will proceed to the Paducah-Mayfield area. At that time we will set up schedules for the remaining areas to be visited. Through the state leaders who have local connections, we will notify the people in each area in advance as to when the Community Caravan may be expected.
13. Since there are nine major areas and only about nine months in which to work, the staff cannot spend more than one month in each area to do justice to the entire State. However, that span of time will be either more or less, depending on the number of communities in each area.
14. In this way it is hoped that the entire State may be covered and that sufficient interest may be aroused among the citizens of each of the nine areas to carry on this work.

This is the major task to which the Committee for Kentucky has dedicated itself for 1949.



PLAN FOR STATE OPERATION OF THE COMMITTEE
FOR KENTUCKY COMMUNITY CARAVAN

SCHEDULE

On the basis of our experience in the first area, we will schedule visits to the following area centers. In each is underscored the community which will be used as a center of operation:

1. Paducah—Mayfield Area

- A. Fulton
- B. Hickman
- C. Mayfield

- D. Murray
- E. Paducah

2. Henderson—Owensboro Area

- A. Dawson Springs
- B. Earlington
- C. Henderson
- D. Hopkinsville
- E. Madisonville
- F. Marion

- G. Morganfield
- H. Owensboro
- I. Princeton
- J. Providence
- K. Sturgis

3. Bowling Green—Glasgow Area

- A. Bowling Green
- B. Central City
- C. Franklin
- D. Glasgow

- E. Greenville
- F. Russellville
- G. Scottsville

4. Bardstown—Elizabethtown Area

- A. Bardstown
- B. Campbellsville
- C. Elizabethtown

- D. Lebanon
- E. Shelbyville

5. Lexington—Bluegrass Area

- A. Carrollton
- B. Cynthia
- C. Danville
- D. Frankfort
- E. Georgetown
- F. Harrodsburg
- G. Irvine
- H. Lawrenceburg

- I. Lexington
- J. Mount Sterling
- K. Nicholasville
- L. Paris
- M. Richmond
- N. Versailles
- O. Winchester

6. Covington—Northern Kentucky Area

- | | |
|----------------|------------------------|
| A. Bellevue | E. Newport |
| B. Covington | F. Ludlow |
| C. Dayton | G. South Fort Mitchell |
| D. Fort Thomas | |

7. Ashland—Morehead Area

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| A. Ashland | D. Morehead |
| B. Cattletsburg | E. Olive Hill |
| C. Maysville | F. Russell |

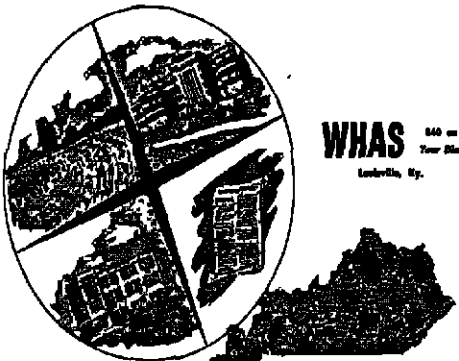
8. Prestonsburg—Hazard Area

- | | |
|------------|------------------------|
| A. Hazard | D. Paintsville |
| B. Jackson | E. Pikeville |
| C. Jenkins | F. <u>Prestonsburg</u> |

9. Corbin—Harlan Area

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| A. Barbourville | F. London |
| B. Corbin | G. Middlesboro |
| C. Cumberland | H. <u>Pineville</u> |
| D. Harlan | I. Somerset |
| E. Lynch | J. Williamsburg |

APPENDIX B



WHAS 540 on
Your Dial
Louisville, Ky.

Wake Up, Kentucky!

A stimulating, thought-stirring series of programs on WHAS designed to awaken Kentuckians to some of the problems Kentucky faces in education, health, agriculture, welfare, its constitution, housing, natural resources, labor, industry, and taxation.

"Wake Up, Kentucky" is a dramatic presentation of facts as reported by The Committee for Kentucky from exhaustive research made by its experts. WHAS and The Committee believe that truth is mighty and that it has a power to stimulate understanding and action to remedy the bad and to make best use of the good. So "Wake Up, Kentucky" is dedicated to helping Kentuckians restore Kentucky's greatness.

Originating in the studios of WHAS on Monday evenings at 6:30, this public service program is re-broadcast by across other Kentucky radio stations at different hours on various days during the week.

Radio tells the world about the Committee

APPENDIX C

[illegible]

Business organizations lend a hand

APPENDIX E

MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR KENTUCKY AS OF 1947

A—AGRICULTURE

1. Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation
2. Kentucky County Agents Association
3. Southern States Cooperative
4. Barren County Farm Bureau
5. Bath County Farm Bureau
6. Fulton County Farm Bureau
7. Henry County Farm Bureau
8. Shelby County Farm Bureau
9. Todd County Farm Bureau
10. Washington County Farm Bureau
11. Webster County Farm Bureau
12. Woodford County Farm Bureau

B—BUSINESS

13. Kentucky Merchants Association
14. Kentucky Retail Lumber Dealers Association
15. Kentucky Pharmaceutical Association
16. Kentucky Drug Travelers Association
17. Retail Merchants Association—Louisville
18. Retail Merchants Association—Paducah
19. I. Willis Cole Publishing Company
20. Coroseal Chemical Corporation-Kentucky Division
21. Gold Proof Elevator Division
22. Louisville Defender

C—EDUCATION

23. Kentucky Education Association
24. Kentucky Congress of Parents and Teachers
25. Kentucky Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools

26. Kentucky School Boards Association
27. Kentucky Association of Deans of Women
28. Kentucky Negro Education Association
29. Kentucky Vocational Association
30. Kentucky Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers
31. Kentucky Workers Education?l Council
32. Kentucky State College
33. Lincoln Institute
34. West Kentucky Vocational Training School
35. Alpha Chapter of Delta Kappa Gamma
36. Alpha Zeta Omega Fraternity Lambda Chapter
37. Alpha Kappa Mu Honor Society
38. Alpha Kappa Alpha Beta Upsilon Omega Chapter
39. Delta Sigma Theta Beta Upsilon Sigma Chapter
40. Delta Sigma Theta Chi Sigma Chapter
41. Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority Beta Gamma Omega Chapter
42. Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Gamma Beta Lambda Chapter
43. Kentucky Delta Kappa Gamma State Organization

D—LABOR

44. Kentucky State Federation of Labor
45. Louisville Central Labor Union
46. Distillery Rectifying & Wine Workers Local #60
47. Distillery Workers Union Local #16
48. Distillery Workers Union Local #28
49. Distillery Workers Union Local #23
50. Metal Polishers and Buffers Local #66
51. Waitresses Union #276
52. Louisville Journeymen Plumbers #107
53. Louisville Building & Constr. Trades Council
54. Kentucky Building & Constr. Trades Council
55. Boot and Shoe Workers Union #638—Paducah
56. Tobacco Workers Union #185—Louisville
57. Kentucky State C.I.O. Council
58. Louisville Industrial Union Council
59. United Mine Workers, District #19
60. United Mine Workers, District #23
61. United Mine Workers, District #30

62. Brotherhood Railway Clerks-Louisville Express-men's Lodge #2041
63. Brotherhood Railway Carmen, Pan American Lodge #576
64. International Association of Machinists—Paducah
65. International Association of Machinists—Louisville

E—PROFESSIONAL

66. Kentucky Medical Association
67. Kentucky State Dental Association
68. Kentucky Welfare Association
69. Kentucky Federation of Business & Professional Women's Clubs
70. American Association of University Women—Kentucky Chapter
71. American Ass'n of Social Workers—West Kentucky Chapter
72. American Ass'n of Social Workers—Breckenridge Chapter
73. Louisville Ministerial Association
74. Louisville Section Nat'l Council of Jewish Women
75. Louisville Br. Nat'l Association for Advancement of Colored People
76. Advertising Club of Louisville
77. Kentucky Library Association

F—SERVICE

78. Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs
79. Consumers League of Kentucky
80. Kentucky Tuberculosis Association
81. Girl Scouts of Kentucky
82. Kentucky Association of Colored Women
83. Altrusa Club
84. Louisville Pan-Hellenic Council
85. Optimist Club of Louisville
86. Lions Club of Louisville
87. Committee for Fort Thomas

APPENDIX F



Kentucky leaders plan the future

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